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PAPERS

OF THE

AMERICAN

SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

VOLUME III.

REPORT AND PAPERS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, DEC. 30 AND 31, 1890

EDITED BY

REV. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M.A.

SECRETARY

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CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[Adopted at the organization, Friday, March 23, 1888].

I.

This Society shall be called

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

These officers and four other members shall constitute the Council, of which five shall be the quorum.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows:

The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, shall preside at all the meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, and the determination of what papers shall be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

V.

The Council and all the other officers shall be elected at the annual meeting. But the Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

VI.

Any person approved by the Council may become a member of the Society upon the payment of an initiation fee of $5.00, and continue a member by paying after the first year an annual fee of $3.00. On payment of fifty dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VII.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all honorary and life-members, to all annual members not in arrears for more than two years, and to all libraries subscribing $3.00 annually.

VIII.

Persons not residing in America may be elected honorary members.

IX.

The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

X.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendment shall be given at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The Society met in the lecture-room of the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, corner 14th and G streets, Washington, D. C.

The first session was held on Tuesday, December 30, 1890, at 8 P.M., and was opened with prayer by Bishop Hurst. The President then made a brief address of welcome, in the course of which he paid a fitting tribute to the worth and work of the four members who had passed away since the Society last met.

The first was Karl August Hase, D.D., an honorary member, who died at Jena on Friday, January 3, 1890. He was born at Steinbach, Saxony, August 25, 1800. His studies were made at Leipzig and Erlangen, but his professional life was passed at Jena, to which he was called in 1830. Previously he had taken part in the students' liberal movement, and gotten into difficulties, but outlived the turbulent period, and was so much esteemed by the government that he was raised to the hereditary nobility in 1885. His works are full of genius, and his pre-eminence as an historian none would dispute. He was a miniature-painter in language. He knew how to make his characters real and active. He introduced church history into general literature. He was the first to appreciate its æsthetic and artistic element. He did the German student world a great service by compiling a compend of Lutheran theology, with the Latin title "Hutterus redivivus" (Leipzig, 1829, 12th ed., 1883), which is, however, now, to a large extent, supplanted in popular favor by Luthardt's similar compend; and by his manual of church history (Leipzig, 1834, 11th ed., 1886), the rival of Kurtz's similar

work, but superior in point of originality, condensation, and style. It is to be regretted that the only English translation of Hase's manual referred to should date from 1856. Two others of his books have been translated: his "Life of Jesus" by James Freeman Clarke, Boston, 1881; and his "Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas," London, 1880. He began the publication of his academic lectures on church history ("Kirchengeschichte auf der Grundlage akademischer Vorlesungen,") at Leipzig in 1885. The second volume was edited by Gustav Krüger, 1890. They are the first two volumes of a collected edition of his works, to be completed in twenty-four half volumes. Hase was elected an honorary member at the second annual meeting, but died before the notification reached him.

The second was Johann Heinrich Kurtz, D.D., who was born at Montjoie, near Aachen, December 13, 1809, and died at Marburg, Saturday, April 26, 1890. He was educated at Halle and Bonn, and was Professor of Theology at Dorpat from 1850 till 1870, when he came back to Germany to live upon his pension and to improve his various text-books, which are very popular, as the number of the editions printed amply testify. Two of these books, his "Sacred History," in its different forms, and his "Church History" (new translation, from the ninth edition, Edinburgh, 1890, 3 vols.), are almost as familiar to English and American as to German students. Kurtz's "Church History" lacks the attractive style of Hase's, but it is more evangelical in tone. Both Hase's and Kurtz's books are in their eleventh edition in the original. The letter Kurtz sent in acceptance of his election to honorary membership is found in the Transactions of last year, pp. xix., xx.

Two of our active members have died during the year—Rev. Drs. Moffat and Dexter, both honored and beloved.

James Clement Moffat, D.D. (Miami University, Oxford, O., 1853), was born at Glencree in the south of Scotland, May 30, 1811; graduated at the College of New Jersey, Princeton, 1830, and from 1861 till his death, Saturday, June 7, 1890, was Professor of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary. He retired from active service, how-

ever, for a year or so before his death. He was a heavenly-minded man. His influence upon the students was spiritually stimulating. He contributed to our first volume a paper upon Hildebrand. He published a "Comparative History of Religion," New York, 1871–3, 3 vols.; "The Church in Scotland," New York, 1882; "Church History in Brief," Philadelphia, 1885.

The other active member taken from us was Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D., LL.D. (Yale, 1880, 1890), the most eminent historian of Congregationalism in the country. His death was a public calamity. He was born at Plympton, Mass., August 13, 1821, and died at New Bedford, Thursday, November 13, 1890. After graduating at Yale College in 1840 and Andover Theological Seminary in 1844, he became pastor at Manchester, N. H., whence he removed to Boston in 1849, and with that city was identified till his death, first as a pastor, but since 1867 as editor-in-chief of *The Congregationalist*. He was a great force in his denomination, a leader in her councils, an arbiter in her disputes. His books are elaborate histories; chief of them is "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature," New York, 1880, with its extraordinary bibliographical appendix. He left unfinished a history of the Pilgrims, which, it is to be hoped, is at least partially in condition to be published.

After the President had made his address the Secretary read his report, from which it appeared that during the year three members of the Society had resigned, four—the four already mentioned—had died, and fourteen new members had been enrolled. In his capacity as Treasurer the Secretary read the following report, which had been duly audited and found correct by the Council:

1889.					
Dec. 30.	Balance on hand		$165 88		
1890.					
Dec. 30.	Received to date for dues from members and sale of Transactions		267 31		
	Received from G. P. Putnam's Sons for sale of Transactions		14 52		
	Paid G. P. Putnam's Sons for printing			$263 50	
	" Secretary's salary			25 00	
	Balance			159 21	
	Total		$447 71	$447 71	

Then followed the reading of the following papers:

"The Historical Geography of the Christian Church," by Rev. Prof. H. W. Hulbert, Marietta College, O.

(Prof. Hulbert's maps were passed through the audience.)

"The Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century," by Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage, Portland, Me.

(This paper was discussed by Messrs. Newman, Wolf, Vedder, and Walker.)

Next came the two reports asked for at the last meeting (see last year's volume, p. xviii.):

"The Place of Church History in the College Course," by Rev. Vice-Chancellor Dr. H. M. MacCracken, New York City.

"Report on a Proposed Series of Denominational Histories to be Published under the Auspices of the American Society of Church History," by Rev. Prof. Dr. A. H. Newman, Toronto, Canada.

Owing to the lateness of the hour discussion on these reports was postponed till the next day.

The President then appointed Rev. Drs. MacCracken, Wolf, Newman, and the Secretary the committee on nomination of officers for the ensuing year, and called for their report the next morning.

On Wednesday, Dec. 31st, at 10 A.M., the Society met for its final session, which was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Wolf.

The committee on nomination made their report, which was unanimously adopted:

For President: Rev. Prof. Dr. Philip Schaff.

For Vice-Presidents: Rev. Prof. Dr. Henry Martyn Baird; Rev. Bishop Dr. John Fletcher Hurst; Rev. Prof. Dr. George Park Fisher; Rev. Dr. Richard Salter Storrs.

For Secretary and Treasurer: Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, 14 East 31st Street, New York City.

For Councillors: Rev. Dr. Talbot Wilson Chambers; Rev. Prof. Dr. George Richard Crooks; Rev. Henry Clay Vedder; Rev. Vice-Chancellor Dr. Henry Mitchell MacCracken.

Rev. Dr. Crooks called the attention of the members to the importance of supporting the Wyclif Society, now printing Wyclif's works, partly from MSS., and of inducing persons of means to assist it by large contributions, so that it may sooner complete its labors.

The Secretary was, on motion, authorized to offer the Society's publication to members at half-price.

Next followed the discussion of Vice-Chancellor MacCracken's report, which was participated in by Messrs. Hulbert, Crooks, Burrage, McIlvain, Newman, and, by invitation, by Prof. Moulton, of the University of Cambridge, England, the distinguished advocate and exponent of University Extension, who spoke upon the great success which had attended diocesan instruction in religious knowledge, while the efforts hitherto made to teach it through the universities had failed, owing to ecclesiastical jealousies.

The discussion of Prof. Newman's paper was postponed till after the luncheon at Bishop Hurst's.

The regular programme was then taken up. Prof. Schaff delivered an address on "The Renaissance"; Prof. Richard read his paper on "The Vicissitudes of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the English Church: a Dogmatic History," and it was discussed by Messrs. McIlvain, Crooks, and Schaff.

The Secretary read, in the author's absence, the greater part of Mr. T. E. V. Smith's paper on "Villegaignon, Founder and Destroyer of the First Huguenot Settlement in the New World."

On motion of Prof. Hulbert it was

Resolved, That the American Society of Church History respectfully ask each college and university in the United States and Canada to give fresh consideration to the question of whether a greater emphasis cannot be given to collegiate instruction in the history of Christian civilization, including therein scientific biblical study, corresponding to the growing emphasis given to such instruction in Great Britain and in the gymnasia of Germany. And

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution and of the paper prepared by Vice-Chancellor MacCracken be sent to the authorities of the institutions in question.

Nomination of new members being in order, the following persons were nominated and on motion elected:

Rev. Drs. George Elliott, C. A. Stakely, Butler, S. H. Greene, W. A. Bartlett, A. W. Pitzer, W. E. Parson, and J. E. Rankin, Rev. Messrs. C. W. Baldwin, and F. D. Power, Col. John Hay, Mr. J. D. Nicolay, Judges Strong, C. D. Drake, C. C. Nott, Hon. Thomas Wilson, Hon. Henry Pellew, Hon. J. L. M. Curry, Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, President Welling, Prof. O. T. Mason (of the Smithsonian Institute), Pres. E. M. Gallaudet, Gen. T. J. Morgan,—all of Washington; Rev. Drs. R. E. Thompson and J. A. Seiss, of Philadelphia; Rev. Drs. W. M. Taylor, J. B. Remensnyder, G. F. Krotel, E. Eggleston and E. B. Coe, Hon. John Jay, Winthrop S. Gilman, and Samuel Colgate,—all of New York; Rev. Dr. C. S. Albert and Prof. H. B. Adams, of Baltimore; Rev. Drs. Calvin Goodspeed, of Toronto, Canada; L. A. Gotwald, of Springfield, O.; H. A. Buttz, of Madison, N. J.; Moses D. Hoge, of Richmond, Va.; and John Gordon, of Omaha.

The officers of the American Historical Association, and the president and professor of history of each of the colleges to which Vice-Chancellor MacCracken's report is to be sent, were also elected to active membership.

Washington was appointed as the next place of meeting and the Christmas recess as the time.

The members then went by previous invitation in a body to luncheon at Bishop Hurst's house. After luncheon, Prof. Newman's report was discussed by all the members, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the Society undertakes to prepare a series of denominational histories, under the general charge of the following committee: Rev. Drs. Schaff, Potter, Hurst, Newman, Wolf, Fisher, and the Secretary, who shall also be the secretary of this editorial Committee.

Resolved, That the Committee have power to accept resignations and fill vacancies, and in case of necessity to add to their number.

A vote of thanks to Bishop Hurst for his kind hospitality and to Rev. Dr. Elliott for the use of his church, was then

passed, and the Society adjourned with prayer by Rev. Dr. Crooks, to meet in Washington a year hence.

During the meeting the following members were present: Messrs. C. W. Baldwin, H. S. Burrage, G. R. Crooks, D. Dorchester, J. H. Dulles, G. Elliott, J. A. Faulkner, T. S. Hamlin, H. W. Hulbert, J. F. Hurst, S. M. Jackson, H. M. MacCracken, J. W. McIlvain, A. H. Newman, F. D. Power, J. W. Richard, P. Schaff, H. C. Vedder, W. Walker, E. J. Wolf.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON,
Secretary.

THE RENAISSANCE

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING AND ART IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

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THE RENAISSANCE.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING AND ART IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.

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CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

See an alphabetical list of the Renaissance literature down to 1881 in Voigt's *Wiederbelebung des class. Alterthums*, II., 517–529; and a long list including the literature on the papacy of that period in Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste* (1886 *sqq.*), I., xxiv.–xlvi., and II., xxv.–xlvii. Geiger adds literary notices to his *Renaissance und Humanismus* (1882), pp. 564 *sqq.*

I.—Original Authorities.

L. A. Muratori (b. at Modena, 1672, librarian of the Ambrosian library at Milan, 1695, d. 1750): *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab anno æræ Christ. quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum*, Mediol., 1723–'51, 25 vols., fol., with supplemental vols. (*ab anno millesimo ad millesimum sexcentesimum*), Florentiæ, 1748 and 1770, and *Accessiones historicæ Faventinæ*, Venet., 1771. In all, 31 parts. Tom. XV. contains an alphabetical list of the authors in this vast collection, some of whom belong to the Renaissance period.

Girolamo Tiraboschi (a Jesuit, and librarian of the Duke of Modena, d. 1794): *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Roma, 1782–'85, 9 vols. in 13 parts, 4to. Vol. IX., pp. 125–366, contains the topical index. Vol. V. treats of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarca. Comp. also Vol. VI., P. I., pp. 155 *sqq.* (*Scoprimento d'Antichità*), and Vol. VI., P. II., pp. 219 *sqq.* (*Poesia Latina*, etc.). The first edition appeared at Modena, 1771–'82, 13 vols., a new one at Milan, 1822–'26, in 16 vols.

The works of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Poggio, Valla, and Æneas Sylvius, see below.

II.—Modern Works.

Humphrey Hody (Prof. at Oxford): *De Græcis illustribus Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus*, London, 1742. A posthumous work published by Dr. Jebb.

Meiners: *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer aus den Zeiten der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*, Zürich, 1795–'97, 3 vols.

Heeren: *Geschichte der classischen Lit. seit der Wiederauflebung der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen, 1797–1802, 2 vols.; new ed. in his *Hist. Works*, Parts IV. and V., Gött., 1822.

Erhard: *Gesch. des Aufblühens wissensch. Bildung, vornehmlich in Deutschland bis zum Anfang der Reformation*, Magdeburg, 1827–'32, 3 vols.

Wm. Roscoe (1753–1831): *The Life of Lorenzo de Medici, called the Magnificent*, Liverpool (London), 1796, and repeatedly reprinted and translated into French, German, and Italian. *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, London, 1805, and often since. German transl. by Henke, with notes, Leipzig, 1806, 3 vols.; Italian transl. by Luigi Bossi, Milano, 1816, with valuable appendices. The Italian ed. was placed on the Index.

J. Ch. L. Sismondi (1773–1842): *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, Paris, 1807–'18, 5th ed. 1840–'44, 10 vols. (English translation, London, 1832), and *Histoire de la renaissance de la liberté en Italie*, 1832, 2 vols.

Jules Michelet (1798–1874): *Renaissance*, the 7th vol. of his *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1867.

Ad. Franck (Membre de l'Institut): *Réformateurs et Publicistes de l'Europe. Moyen Age Renaissance*, Paris, 1864. Sketches of Dante, Marsilius of Padua, Occam, Savonarola.

* Jacob Burckhardt (Prof. in Basel): *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Basel, 1860; 2d ed., revised, Leipzig (Seemann), 1869; 3d ed. by L. Geiger, 1878, in 2 vols. A series of philosophico-historical sketches on the six aspects of the Italian Renaissance, namely, the new conception of the state, the development of the individual, the revival of science, the discovery of the world and of man, the new formation of society, and the transformation of morals and religion. An excellent English translation by S. G. C. Middlemore from the 3d ed. (*The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, London and New York, Macmillan, 1890, 559 pp.). Italian translation by Diego Valbusa of Mantua. Burckhardt wrote also (in connection with W. Lübke), *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1868; 2d ed., 1878, with 180 illustrations, chiefly on architecture and sculpture, to complete Kugler's *Geschichte der Baukunst*. Comp. also his *Cicerone; Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, 4th ed. by Bode, Leipzig, 1879; 5th ed. 1884, 3 vols.

* Georg Voigt: *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, 1859; 2d ed., rewritten, Berlin, 1880 and 1881, 2 vols. Also his life of Pius II.: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1856–'63, 3 vols.

T. D. Woolsey (late Pres. of Yale College, d. 1889): *The Revival of Letters in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. A series of valuable articles in the line of Voigt's first ed., in the "New Englander," New Haven, Conn., for 1864 and 1865.

* **Ferd. Gregorovius**: *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelatter vom. V. bis zum XVI. Jahrh.* (1859), 4th revised ed., Stuttgart (Cotta), 1886 *sqq.*, 8 vols. See Vols. VI.–VIII.

Alfred von Reumont: *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, Berlin, 1867–'70, 3 vols. The 3d vol., in 2 parts, treats of Humanism and the Popes of the Renaissance. By the same author, *Lorenzo de' Medici il Magnifico*, Leipzig, 1874; 2d ed., revised, 1883, 2 vols.

Marc Monnier: *La Renaissance de Dante à Luther*, Paris, 1884 (crowned by the French Academy).

H. Taine: *Lectures on Art* (First and Second Series); *Italy, Rome, and Naples; Italy, Florence, and Venice.* English translation by John Durand, New York (Henry Holt & Co.), 1875 *sqq.* The Second Series of Lectures gives the philosophy of art in Italy.

Fritz Schultze: *Geschichte der Philosophie der Renaissance.* Vol. I., *Ge. Gem. Pletho und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen*, Jena, 1874.

Pasquale Villari: *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, Firenze, 1877–1882, 3 vols. German translation by Mangold. Comp. also Villari's *La Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, Firenze, 1858; revised and enlarged ed. 1887 and 1888, in 2 vols. (English translation by his wife, London, 1888.)

* John Addington Symonds: *Renaissance in Italy*, London and New York (H. Holt & Co.), 1877 *sqq.*; 2d, cheaper ed., 1888, 7 vols. Part I., *The Age of the Despots;* Part II., *The Revival of Learning;* Part III., *The Fine Arts;* Part IV., *Italian Literature* (2 vols.); Part V., *The Catholic Reaction* (1886, 2 vols). The most complete English work on the subject, and based upon the original sources, but somewhat prolix and repetitious. Geiger very unjustly calls it "*unbedeutend.*" Symonds wrote the article, *Renaissance*, in the "Encycl. Britannica," Ed. IX., Vol. XX. (1886), pp. 380–394.

* Gustav Koerting: *Geschichte der Litteratur Italiens im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Leipzig (Reisland), Vol. I., 1878 (Petrarca); Vol. II., 1880 (Boccaccio); Vol. III., 1884 (the forerunners and founders of the Renaissance; this vol. should be the first). The work is to embrace 6 vols., the last to be devoted to Torquato Tasso.

H. Hettner: *Italienische Studien. Zur Geschichte der Renaissance*, Braunschweig, 1879.

* Ludwig Geiger (Prof. in Berlin): *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882 (pp. 585), with illustrations. Part of Oncken's "Allg. Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen." Comp. his *Neue Schriften zur Kritik des Humanismus*, in the "Historische Zeitschrift" for 1874, pp. 49–125.

Preste Tommasini: *La vita e gli scritti di Nicolò Machiavelli nella loro relazione al Machiavellismo*, Roma (Loescher), 1883 *sq.*

Mrs. Oliphant: *The Makers of Florence*, London (Macmillan & Co.), 1888. Sketches of Dante, Giotto, Savonarola, Michel Angelo.

* Eugène Müntz: *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, Paris (Hachette et Cie.), 1889 *sqq.* To embrace 5 vols., each containing 800 to 900 pages and 2,500 engravings.

III.—Works on the History of the Papacy of the Renaissance Period.

Leop. von Ranke (d. 1886): *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrh.*, Leipzig, 3 vols., 8th ed., 1885. Begins with an introduction on the epochs of the Papacy, and Leo X.

Mandell Creighton (Professor of Church History in Cambridge, England): *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*, London and New York, 1882–1887, 4 vols. The title of this work is misleading, as it begins with 1378 and ends 1518, *i.e.*, the beginning of the Reformation, properly so called. It is rather a history of the Papacy in the period of the *Renaissance*.

Ludwig Pastor (Rom. Cath. Prof. of History at Innsbruck): *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Freiburg i. B. (Herder), Vol. I. 1886, Vol. II., 1889. A Roman Catholic counterpart of Ranke, based upon extensive studies in the documentary sources.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN, CHARACTER, AND INFLUENCE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

The classical literature of Greece and the law of Rome, as well as the Mosaic religion, prepared the way for the introduction and success of Christianity in the old Roman empire. The same literature and law became educators of the Latin and Teutonic races for modern civilization.

The Italians took the place of the ancient Greeks, and even surpassed them as poets and artists. Republican Florence rivalled and outshone Athens as a home of genius, and papal Rome excelled imperial Rome in the liberal patronage of letters and arts.

The study of the old Roman literature never died out in the Church. Latin was her official language, and was required from every priest. The Benedictine monks copied Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Donatus, and Boetius, besides the works of St. Augustin, Jerome, and Gregory I. The scholars at the court of Charlemagne, the restorer of the Western Roman empire, showed considerable knowledge of the classics, and might have brought on a premature Renaissance, had not the civil wars under his weak successors and the corruptions of the papacy checked all progress for two centuries. Europe relapsed into barbarism. The libraries of many convents were destroyed, or scattered, or sold for charms or relics. Paper was scarce, and the manuscripts of ancient authors, and even of the Holy Scriptures, were written over *(codices rescripti)* with worthless homilies.

In the twelfth century the love of learning began to revive. The Roman law was discovered and taught at Bologna. The Crusades widened the horizon and opened

to the eyes of Europe the world of the Orient. Aristotle became known through Latin translations made from the Arabic, before he could be read in the original Greek.

Collections of books before the time of Petrarca and the invention of the printing-press were rare, small, and costly. They were not used for the cultivation of taste, but for the practical purpose of learning Latin and reading mass, canon law, and scholastic theology. Roger Bacon (d. 1294) was twenty-six years in search for the works of Seneca, and complained that Cicero's *De Republica* could not be found. The knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was only fragmentary and confined to a few scholars. Dante (d. 1321), with all his encyclopædic learning, which he shows in the *Convivium* and the *Commedia*, knew scarcely more than a dozen Greek words, and depended for his knowledge of the Bible on the Latin Vulgate. He called his great epic and didactic poem, for its vulgar or popular language, a *comedy*, or a village poem, deriving it from κώμη, *villa*, without apparently being aware of the more probable derivation from κῶμος, *merry-making*. Petrarca possessed a copy of the Greek Homer, but could not read it, though he attempted to learn the language from incompetent travelling Greeks.

Petrarca opens the period of search, discovery, and collection of ancient MSS. and works of art. He kindled a passion for books, buildings, statues, pictures, gems. This passion spread rapidly among sovereigns and scholars in every city of Italy. But the mere discovery of books could not have produced a change. Books may be a dead possession, as the Bible was during the Middle Ages. With the discovery of the literary material went hand in hand a new intelligence—an enthusiasm for the ideas of the ancients, a taste for general culture. Greece and Rome rose, phœnix-like, from the dust of antiquity to new life and vigor. Cicero once more delivered his orations; Virgil sang his Æneid; Homer, his Iliad and Odyssey; Plato taught philosophy; the gods of Greece became apostles of the worship of beauty.

The newly discovered ancient civilization was transfused with the spirit of mediæval Christianity. From these two

sources arose a great literary and artistic movement, a new type of civilization, which aimed at an æsthetic transformation of man and a universal and harmonious development of personal character. Hence the terms *humanism* and *humanists*, from *literæ humanæ* or *humaniores*, the more humane studies, the literature that humanizes.

This literary and artistic movement extended from the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is variously styled the *Revival of Letters*, the Age of *Humanism*, by the French term *Renaissance*, and the Italian *Rinascimento*. In the widest sense the Renaissance comprehends the revival of literature and art, the progress in philosophy and criticism, the discovery of the solar system by Copernicus and Galileo, the extinction of feudalism, the development of the great nationalities and languages of modern Europe, the emancipation of enslaved intelligence, the expansion and freedom of thought, the invention of the printing-press, the discovery and exploration of America and the East; in one word, all the progressive developments of the later Middle Ages. In this comprehensive sense Michelet calls the Renaissance "the discovery of the world, and the discovery of man." In the narrower sense, it is confined to the revival of literature and art. Renaissance means a new birth or regeneration, but the literary movement so called was not a single act, but a long intellectual and artistic process preparatory to that moral and religious renovation which we call the Reformation, and to what we understand by modern, as distinct from mediæval and ancient, civilization.[1]

[1] Müntz (*l.c.*, I., 1) thus defines the term *Renaissance*: "*Il signifie ce rajeunissement de l'esprit humain, cet affranchissement de la pensée, cet essor des sciences et ce raffinement de la civilisation, cette pursuite de la distinction et de la beauté, qui se sont affirmés en Italie vers le quinzième siècle, sous l'influence des leçons de l'antiquité.*" Taine says (*Lect. on Art*, Sec. Ser., p. 79): "The Renaissance is an unique moment, intermediate between the Middle Ages and modern times, between a lack of culture and over-culture, between the reign of crude instincts and the reign of ripe ideas." The term *Renaissance* originated in the 15th century, and was first used in the theological sense of spiritual regeneration.

Italy was the home of the Renaissance. That beautiful country inherited the Roman traditions, and never lost its connection with them. Latin was spoken down to the thirteenth century. St. Anthony of Padua (d. 1231) preached in Latin, and the people understood him; even the fishes, it was said, ascended from the water to listen to his eloquence. Although Lombards, Goths, and Normans invaded the country, they were romanized much more than the Italians were teutonized. The feudal system and Gothic architecture found no congenial soil south of the Alps. There are very few Gothic churches in Italy—the cathedrals of Milan, Siena, and Orvieto, St. Maria Novella in Florence, St. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, and the Franciscan convent of Assisi; and these are either the works of foreign architects or adapted to Italian taste, which preferred classic models. The German empire lost its influence in Italy after the extinction of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. But the cities developed their municipal institutions, whether monarchical, oligarchical, or democratic, and fostered literature and art. The Italians were proud of their superior culture, and looked with contempt upon the Northern aud Western barbarians, the gluttonous and drunken Britons and Germans. Petrarca was tolerably well pleased with Paris, but the farther north he travelled the more he admired his Italian home. The Italians are born with a sense of beauty. Even the beggars in rags look picturesque, and exclaim before a statue or fine picture: *O Dio, com' è bello!*

The Renaissance was born in the republic of Florence, under the patronage of the Medici family, and matured in Rome under the patronage of the popes. From these two centres it spread all over Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England. It ascended the papal throne with Nicolas V. (1447–'55), the founder of the Vatican Library, and was nurtured by his successors, Pius II. (1458–'64), Sixtus IV. (1471–'84), who founded the Sistine Chapel, Julius II. (1503–'13), who called Bramante, Michel Angelo, and Raphael to Rome, and Leo X. (1513–'22), who gave them the most liberal encouragement in their works of art. The Renais-

sance was the last great movement of history in which Italy and the popes took the lead.

The history of the Renaissance may be divided into two periods: the first from Dante to Nicolas V.; the second from Nicolas V. to Leo X. Then followed the Protestant Reformation and the papal counter-Reformation, which changed the religious condition of Europe.

The literary humanism was reproductive rather than productive. Its Latin works consist of orations, letters, histories, poems, and translations, and have now only an historic interest; but the Italian works of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio hold their position as classics. Most of the humanists were not regularly attached to universities, like modern scholars, but led an unsteady life as wandering lecturers, and were supported by the uncertain fees of students, the benefices of the Church, or the private liberality of the rich. Many of them were employed as scribes and secretaries of princes and popes. The artists of the Renaissance produced works of the highest order in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

The Renaissance revived the study of the classics; it recovered from the dust of ages the literary treasures of ancient Greece and Rome, and collected them into libraries for public use; it produced the national literature of Italy, and the greatest works of modern art; it adorned Italy with churches, museums, and picture-galleries, which still attract admiring visitors from every land. It introduced the worship of beauty, and with it a new form of paganism, in outward conformity, but secret indifference or hostility, to the Catholic Church. It emancipated the mind from the bondage of dogma and the barren formalism of scholastic philosophy and theology. In its more serious turn it prepared the way for the Protestant Reformation which utilized its best elements for the revival of primitive Christianity. The Renaissance broke up the clerical monopoly of learning, and made it the property of the laity as well. It destroyed the monastic ideal of life, and directed attention to the equal or superior excellence of natural morality. To the monk

beauty was a snare, woman a temptation, pleasure a sin, the world vanity of vanities. The humanist saw the finger of God in reason, in science, in nature, in art, and taught men that life is worth living.

Italy created a new world of beauty, Germany produced a new world of thought. Reuchlin and Erasmus are the connecting links between the Renaissance and the Reformation. Melanchthon and Zwingli are the humanists among the Reformers; but their love of learning was subordinate and subservient to their zeal for religion. The Roman Church rejected the Protestant Reformation, and by the Council of Trent, the order of the Jesuits, the Spanish Inquisition, and the whole counter-Reformation, she built an iron wall against modern progress. But the world still moves. Renaissance, Reformation, Reaction, Revolution, Reconstruction, are links in the chain of modern progress.[1]

[1] "*Die Renaissance*," says Gregorovius (VII., 509), "*war die Reformation der Italiener. Sie machten die Wissenschaft von dogmatischen Fesseln frei; sie gaben den Menschen der Menscheit und der ganzen Cultur zurück, und sie erschufen so eine kosmische Bildung, in deren Process wir noch heute stehen, deren fernere Entwicklung und Ziel wir noch heute nicht ahnen können. Die Wiederbelebung der Wissenschaften war der erste grosse Act jener unermesslichen moralischen Revolution, worin Europa noch begriffen ist, und deren bisher offenbare Epochen sind: die italienische Renaissance, die deutsche Reformation, die französische Revolution. Mit Recht heisst jene erste Epoche die des Humanismus, denn mit ihr beginnt die moderne Menschlichkeit.*"

CHAPTER III.

DANTE ALIGHIERI (1265–1321).

G. A. Scartazzini (a native of the Grisons, Reformed minister at Fahrwangen, in Aargau): *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia. Introduzione allo studio di Dante Alighieri e delle sue opere*, Leipzig (F. A. Brockhaus), 1890.

Philip Schaff: *Dante and the Divina Commedia*, in "Literature and Poetry," New York (Scribner's Sons) 1890, pp. 279–429; also separately printed. Compare the extensive Dante literature, classified according to language and nationality, on pp. 328–337.

The best Italian text of the *Commedia* is by Witte; the latest and best Italian commentaries are by Dr. Scartazzini (Leipzig, 1874–1882, 3 vols.) and by Cav. Prof. Giuseppe Campi (Torino, 1890 *sqq.*, with 125 illustrated pages). The best German versions and notes are by Kannegiesser, Philalethes (King John, of Saxony), Graul, Witte, Wegele, and Gildemeister. English versions by Cary, J. A. Carlyle, Longfellow, Parsons, Plumptre, etc.

Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio represent the birth and glory of Italian literature, and are the fathers of the revival of letters. The humanists who followed them preferred Latin, until Ariosto and Torquato Tasso returned to Italian and completed the golden age of Italian poetry.

Dante, the poet, statesman, philosopher, and theologian, the first of Italian classics, and the greatest of mediæval poets, has given us in his *Divine Comedy*, conceived in 1300, the year of the first papal jubilee, a poetic view of the moral universe under the aspect of eternity (*sub specie æternitatis*). It is a cathedral built of immortal spirits. It is a mirror of mediæval Christianity and civilization, and, at the same time, a work of universal significance and perennial interest. It connects the Middle Ages with the modern world.[1] It is

[1] "*Die Komödie ist der Schwanengesang des Mittelalters, zugleich aber auch das begeisterte Lied, welches die Herankunft einer neuen Zeit einleitet.*" Scartazzini, *Dante Alighieri. Seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (1869),

personal and national, and yet cosmopolitan. It is Dante's autobiography, and reflects his own experience in Florence.

> "All the pains by me depicted, woes and tortures, void of pity,
> On this earth I have encountered—found them all in Florence City."[1]

But the *Comedy* is, at the same time, the spiritual biography of man as man in the three conditions of sin, repentance, and salvation. It describes the pilgrimage of the human soul from the dark forest of temptation, through the depths of despair, up the terraces of purification, to the realms of bliss, under the guidance of natural reason (Virgil), and of Divine wisdom and love (Beatrice). The *Inferno* reflects sin and misery; the *Purgatorio*, penitence and hope; the *Paradiso*, holiness and happiness. The *Inferno* is diabolic, the *Purgatorio* human, the *Paradiso* divine. The first repels by its horrors and lamentations; the second moves by its penitential tears and prayers; the third enraptures by its purity and bliss. Purgatory is an intermediate state, constantly passing away, but Hell and Heaven will last forever. Hell is hopeless darkness and despair; Heaven is all light and bliss, and culminates in the beatific vision of the Holy Trinity, beyond which nothing higher can be conceived by man or angel. The saints are represented as forming a spotless white rose, and its cup is a lake of light, surrounded by innocent children praising God. This sublime conception was probably suggested by the rose windows of Gothic cathedrals, or by the fact that the Virgin Mary was often called a Rose by St. Bernard and other mediæval divines and poets.

The form of the supernatural world is adjusted by Dante to the geocentric cosmology of the Ptolemaic system, which has long since passed away; but the spiritual ideas remain.

p. 530. Geiger (*Renaissance*, p. 11): "*Dante ist ein Bürger zweier Welten; er steht noch mit einem Fusse in der alten Zeit und schreitet doch als Führer den Kindern einer neuen Zeit mächtig voran. Solches Doppelwesen führt leicht zur Halbheit; die Zeit ist wie die Geliebte, sie verlangt den Menschen ganz oder will ihn gar nicht und wendet sich darum unwillig von demjenigen ab, der sich ihr nicht völlig ergibt.*"

[1] "*Allen Schmerz, den ich gesungen, all die Qualen, Greu'l und Wunden*
Hab' ich schon auf dieser Erden, hab' ich in Florenz gefunden."
—From Geibel's *Dante in Verona.*

He locates Hell beneath the earth, Purgatory on a mountain in the Southern hemisphere, Heaven in the planets of the starry firmament, culminating in the Empyrean.[1]

Among these regions of the spiritual and future world Dante distributes the best known characters of his and of former generations, with a somewhat arbitrary selection, according to his limited knowledge of history, but with the stern impartiality of an incorruptible judge. He spares neither friend nor foe, neither Guelf nor Ghibelline, neither pope nor emperor, and gives to each his due. He adapts the punishment to the nature of sin, and the reward to the nature of virtue, and shows an amazing ingenuity and fertility of imagination in this correspondence of outward condition to moral character. He carried out the principle: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" (Mark iv.: 24; Luke vi.: 38; comp. Wisdom xi.: 17). Sin itself, in the other world, is the punishment of sin; the evil desire remains, but as a tormenting sting.

Thus the cowards and indifferentists in the vestibule of the *Inferno* are driven by a whirling flag, and stung by wasps and flies. The licentious are driven by fierce winds in total darkness, with the carnal lust still burning, but incapable of gratification. The gluttons are lying on the ground, exposed to a shower of hail and foul water. The blasphemers are lying supine upon a plain of burning sand, while sparks of fire, like flakes of snow in the Alps, are slowly and constantly descending upon their bodies. The simonists, who sell religion for money, and change the temple of God into a den of thieves, are fixed in holes, head downwards, with their feet out, and tormented with flames. The traitors are immersed in a lake of ice with Satan, the arch-traitor and the embodiment of selfishness and pride. There is a similar correspondence between sins and disciplinary punishments in the *Purgatorio*, but with the oppo-

[1] See the pictorial illustrations in my essays on Dante. It is impossible to understand his poem without a knowledge of the geography, astronomy, and astrology, as well as the exegesis, philosophy, and theology (scholastic and mystic) of the Middle Ages.

site effect; for there the sins are repented of and forgiven. Thus the proud in the first and lowest terrace of the mountain are compelled to totter under huge weights, to learn humility. The indolent in the fourth terrace are exercised by constant and rapid walking. The avaricious and prodigal, with hands and feet tied together, lie with their faces in the dust, weeping and wailing. The gluttons suffer hunger and thirst, to learn temperance. The licentious wander about in flames that their sensual passions may be consumed by fire. In the *Paradiso* the spirits of the saints are distributed according to the different stages of perfection and glory they enjoy, and the planetary influences under which they were living on earth, according to the astrological notions of the poet. The theologians are located in the heaven of the sun, the martyrs, crusaders, and heroes of faith in the heaven of Mars, the righteous princes and judges in the heaven of Jupiter, the hermits and contemplative mystics in the heaven of Saturn, the hierarchy of the angels in the Crystal Heaven or Primum Mobile, the Deity in the Empyrean, which is itself the original cause of all motion, and itself immovable. But all the saints enjoy the same reward of the beatific vision of the blessed Trinity with the glorified human face of the God-Man.

Dante is an interested spectator of the horrible consequences of sin,[1] and the tears of repentance. His heart must be cleansed of the seven mortal sins, as the seven *P's* (*peccata*) are washed away from his forehead. He is severely rebuked for his sins by Beatrice, his guardian angel, who meets him after he reaches the top of Mount *Purgatory* (in the terrestrial Paradise). "Pricked by the thorn of penitence" and "stung at the heart by self-conviction," he makes an humble confession, falls to the ground, is plunged and drawn by Matelda through the river Lethe; drinks new life from the brook

[1] In the famous episode on Francesca da Rimini, he says (*Inferno*, v., 140, *sqq.*):

> "The other one did weep so, that, for pity,
> I swooned away as if I had been dying,
> And fell, even as a dead body falls."

Eunoë, and ascends under the guidance of Beatrice to the abodes of the blessed in heaven.

The *Comedy* is a marvel of diction as well as of thought. It has been justly called "the mediæval miracle of song." Dante writes with fiery characters. He strikes the summits of society with a few words, as the lightning strikes the tops of trees. "Look, and pass on!"[1] With astonishing energy he carries the solemn and melodious terza rima through one hundred cantos of 14,233 verses. The number three—the symbol of the Holy Trinity, the beginning, middle, and end of all things—dominates the structure: three parts, each part thirty-three cantos, with an introductory canto, thus making one hundred cantos—the symbol of perfection. Each of the three parts closes with the word "stars" (*stelle*), which are the blessed abodes of peace, the end of his aspirations and desires. In the *Inferno* the language is awfully earnest; in the *Purgatorio*, affectingly pensive; in the *Paradiso*, transportingly charming; in all parts simple, solemn, and noble. It abounds in images and symbols, and sounds like cathedral music, especially the *Paradiso*. The rhyme comes naturally as the musical expression of the poetic thought. The name of *Christ (Cristo)*, which is above every name, is made to rhyme only with itself. Hence it is three times repeated. It never occurs in the *Inferno*, because the infernals cannot bear it, but Virgil alludes twice to "the Mighty One," whom he saw descending to Hades "with the sign of victory crowned," as "the Man who was born and lived without sin." In the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* Christ often appears as "the exalted Son of God and Mary," as "the Lamb of God who takes away our sins," and "suffered death that we might live."

Dante began the *Comedy* in Latin, and was blamed by Giovanni del Virgilio, a teacher of Latin literature in Bologna, because he abandoned the language of old Rome for the vulgar dialect of Tuscany. His teacher, Brunetto Latini (d. 1294), wrote his *Tesoro* in French as being, in his opinion, "the most delectable and common of all the

[1] *Inferno*, iii., 51:

"Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa."

languages."[1] Dante defended the use of Italian against the contempt of scholars, in his unfinished book on "Eloquence in the Vernacular," (*De Vulgari Eloquio*).[2] But by writing the *Commedia*, the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convivio*, and the *Canzoniere* in his native Florentine tongue, he became the creator of Italian literature without an equal or a successor in power and influence. He thus broke the omnipotence of Latin in literature and gave impulse to the development of modern languages. Chaucer, the father of English poetry, received inspiration from the *Divina Commedia.*

Dante emancipated the laity from the power of the clergy, who hitherto had the monopoly of learning in Europe. In this respect also he anticipated the modern spirit. He was neither priest nor monk nor connected with a university, but a layman, a husband, and father of several children. Exiled from his native city for political reasons, he spent his best years as a wanderer, and had to eat the bread and to ascend the steps of strangers—homeless and homesick, with the sentence of death hanging over his head, finding rest and happiness nowhere but in the love of letters, the pursuit of truth, and the contemplation of eternity. His immortal poem is a child of sorrow. "He learnt in suffering what he taught in song."

Dante was in full harmony with the orthodox faith of his age and imbued with the spirit of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and St. Bernard. His *Comedy* is a poetic glorification of the Christian religion, and of scholastic and mystic theology. He believed in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and also in the distinctive tenets of mediæval Catholicism, as purgatory, the worship of Mary, the intercession of saints, and the divine institution of the papacy. But at the same time, in the consciousness of a prophetic mission and by

[1] His *Tesoretto*, however, which gives substantially the same contents in allegorical and poetic form and suggested to Dante some of the imagery in the beginning of the *Commedia* (the dark forest, the guide from antiquity, etc.) was written in Italian. Dante revered his teacher, and yet on account of his unnatural vice he puts him with stern impartiality into hell.

[2] An English translation by A. G. Ferres Howell, London, 1890.

direction of the blessed Beatrice—the symbol of divine revelation, wisdom, and love,—he fearlessly opposed the unworthy incumbents of the papacy, who changed the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world. He demanded a thorough moral reformation of the Church and a restoration of the empire, regarding them as two divine institutions in friendly alliance, yet separate and distinct. He traced the evils of the Church to her temporal power, and while he accepted the tradition of the donation of Constantine, he denied the right of Constantine to give away his western dominion to the bishop of Rome. He condemned to everlasting punishment Pope Anastasius II. for heresy, Nicholas III., Boniface VIII., and Clement V. for simony, and a multitude of other popes for avarice. He is especially severe on Boniface VIII., the author of his misfortunes, who claimed the temporal as well as the spiritual sword, and by avarice and simony "turned the cemetery of St. Peter into a common sewer of corruption." Such bold language furnished a powerful weapon to the enemies of the papacy, and there is no wonder that his book on the *Empire (De Monarchia)* was put on the Index by the Council of Trent. In the 15th century he would have sympathized with Savonarola against Alexander VI., in the sixteenth with Luther against Tetzel (but no further), in the nineteenth with the Italian patriots in their struggle for the unity of Italy and against the temporal power of the papacy. He anticipated, we may say, the modern separation of Church and State.

In accord with the Augustinian theology he excluded from Paradise the whole heathen mass of mankind, even infants, although they never committed an actual sin and never heard of Adam's transgression. Truly, a *dogma horribile*, which the Reformers (with the sole exception of Zwingli) retained as an inheritance from the dark ages. He held that baptism was necessary for salvation except for the circumcised believers of the Old Dispensation from Adam to John the Baptist, and for two solitary pagans, namely, Cato of Utica, who sacrificed life for liberty and keeps watch at the foot of Purgatory, and for the just

Emperor Trajan, who, five hundred years after his death, was believed to have been prayed out of hell by Pope Gregory I. Dante has, however, the highest regard for Virgil, his master in poetry, who represents secular wisdom and natural reason. He is guided by him through the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* to the terrestrial Paradise, from whence he is led by Beatrice in his flight through the ten heavens, till he attains, through the prayer of the mystic St. Bernard, to the beatific vision of the Holy Trinity. He assigns moreover to the noble heathen poets, philosophers, statesmen, and warriors a tolerably comfortable place in the upper regions of the hopeless *Inferno;* while unfaithful Christians are punished in the lower circles according to the degree of their guilt. The heathen who followed the light of nature suffer "sorrow without pain." As Virgil says:

> "In the right manner they adored not God.
> For such defects, and not for other guilt,
> Lost are we, and are only so far punished,
> That without hope we live on in desire."

Dante interweaves classical and Christian reminiscences, mythological fables with Biblical history, invokes the aid of Apollo and the Muses, and gives room to pagan gods and demigods, but transforms them into demons (as they are represented by sculpture in the Gothic cathedrals). He retains Minos as judge at the door, and Charon as boatman over the Stygian lake, and associates Centaurs and Furies with the agents of diabolical torture. Such a mixture of Christianity with heathenism began, we may say, in the catacombs, where Christ is represented as Apollo and Orpheus; it was largely increased after the elevation of the cross to the throne of the Cæsars and the conquest of the barbarian races. Even in the *Dies Iræ*, the Sibyl is associated with David in the prophecy of the judgment. But in Dante the heathen element is throughout controlled and made subservient to the Christian; while in the Renaissance it gains the mastery. He is always intensely in earnest. He

abhors sin under every form, in every class of society, and admires virtue and holiness. In this moral earnestness and spiritual significance lies the abiding value of the *Divina Commedia*,

> . . . . " That sacred poem
> To which both heaven and earth have set their hands."

Ungrateful Florence banished her greatest son and threatened to burn him alive if he dared to return; but half a century after his death she erected a chair for the explanation of the *Commedia*, whose first occupant was Boccaccio. She vainly begged his ashes, which still repose in Ravenna, but she erected to him an imposing monument in Santa Croce and a statue on the piazza in front, and in 1885 she celebrated with all Italy the sixth centenary of his birth. The *Divina Commedia* will never cease to be studied as a work of art, and as a prophetic voice of Divine justice and mercy. Dante is

> " King that has reigned six hundred years, and grown
> In power and ever grows."

Petrarca rarely mentions Dante and seems to have been envious of his fame, but he wrote an epitaph in which he calls him " the majestic column of Roman eloquence, the honor of the globe, the glory of the Tuscan people, the ornament and prince of poets. Driven from his native city, he adorned the whole earth with his glory. Fortune could not make him proud, nor misfortune discourage him; like an unshaken wall he stood against every occurrence. Hence envious death could not extinguish his splendor; his name remains sacred to memory, and his glory will endure forever."

CHAPTER IV.

PETRARCA (1304—1372).

On the literature see Marsand: *Biblioteca Petrarchesca* (Milan, 1826). Attilio Hortis: *Catalogo delle opere di F. P. existenti nella Petrarchesca Rossettiana*, Triest., 1874. Geiger: *Renaiss.*, etc., p. 365 *sq.*

I. Petrarca: *Opera Omnia*, Venet, 1503; Basil., 1554 and 1581. *Epistolæ* ed. in Latin and Italian by Fracassetti, Florent., 1859–'70, in several vols. The *Canzoniere* or *Rime in Vita e Morte di Madonna Laura* were often separately edited by Marsand, Leopardi, Carducci, and others, and in all collections of the Italian classics.

II. Lives of Petrarca by De Sade (Amsterd., 1764–'67, 3 vols.); Baldelli (Firenze, 1797); Campbell (London, 1841); Blanc (Halle, 1844); Mézières (Paris, 1868, and 2d ed., 1873); L. Geiger (Leipzig, 1874; and in his *Renaissance*, pp. 23–47); *Koerting, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 722. Comp. also Voigt, *l. c.*, i., 21–159.

Francesco Petrarca[1] is far inferior to Dante as an original poet and thinker, but as a literary man he went a step beyond him, and entered the promised land of classical lore. He was born at Arezzo, of Florentine extraction; his father having been banished at the same time with Dante (1302). He received his education in Avignon, Montpellier, and Bologna, and lived alternately in Avignon, Vaucluse (a small estate twelve miles from Avignon), Rome, Parma, Venice, Padua. He studied law, but took more interest in Virgil and Cicero, and was ordained a priest, though without an internal call. He enjoyed several ecclesiastical benefices as prior, canon, and archdeacon, which provided for his support without burdening him with duties. He courted and enjoyed the favor of princes and prelates. He was crowned poet laureate by the Roman Senate on the Capitol in the

[1] Usually spelled *Petrarch* in English (from the Latin), with a change of the accent. I prefer the Italian original. His patronymic was *Petracco*, which he changed into *Petrarca*, for the sake of euphony.

presence of King Robert of Naples (April 8, 1341). This he regarded as the crowning glory of his life. He hailed the fantastic attempt of his friend, Cola di Rienzi, to restore the ancient republic of Rome (1347), and was mortified at his utter incapacity, fall, and flight. The political resurrection of old Rome failed, the literary resurrection succeeded.

Petrarca was the most cultured man of his age. He wrote Italian and Latin poetry and prose with equal facility, although his Latinity fell far short of the Ciceronian standard of the later humanists. He picked up the rudiments of Greek from Barlaam of Calabria. He had a genial and amiable personality, but not free from serious blemishes. He was very vain and ambitious, envious and jealous. He could not appreciate the merits of others, except those of the ancient classics who were not rivals. He was (as Voigt calls him) "an indefatigable hunter after dignities and emoluments." He abused the Babel of Avignon, and yet flattered the popes, to increase his revenues, pleading in excuse that he had to support children, to keep servants, two horses, and three scribes, and to entertain numerous guests. In spite of his priestly vows he lived with concubines. He had an illegitimate son, Giovanni, born in 1336, who gave him much trouble, and an illegitimate daughter, Francesca, born in 1343, who was married to a nobleman, and became the companion of his old age. Both children were afterwards legitimatized by papal bulls.

In riper years, especially after his pilgrimage to Rome in the jubilee of 1350, he broke away from the slavery of sin. "I now hate that pestilence," he writes to Boccaccio, "infinitely more than I loved it once, so that in turning over the thought of it in my mind, I feel shame and horror. Jesus Christ, my liberator, knows that I say the truth, he to whom I often prayed with tears, who has given to me his hand in pity and helped me up to himself." He took great delight in the tearful *Confessions* of St. Augustin, which he carried always in his pocket. He called him "the philosopher of Christ," and "the sun of the Church." He makes him his confessor in the autobiographical dialogue on the

"Contempt of the World," written in 1343. He confesses in it as his greatest fault the love of glory and the desire for the immortality of his name. It is the besetting sin of the ancient Greeks and Romans and of all humanists. He learned from Augustin, he says, to care more for his salvation than for eloquence. He would rather be a Christian than a Ciceronian; but he believed that Cicero would have become a Christian had he known Christ, as Augustin believed the same of Plato.

Petrarca wrote eclogues, poetic epistles in all metres, and prose letters, a treatise on Solitude (*De Vita Solitaria*) a collection of anecdotes (*Rerum Memorandarum*), a biographical compilation (*De Vitis Virorum Illustrium*), three books on the Contempt of the World (*De Contemptu Mundi*, also called *Secretum* and *De Conflictu Curarum suarum*), a retrospect and prospect in the shape of a Dialogue with Augustin, in which he confesses or palliates his faults[1]; and an unfinished epic poem, *Africa*, a record of the achievements of Scipio Africanus, which awakened but disappointed sanguine expectations.

Petrarca was essentially a man of letters, like Erasmus, whom he resembles in more than one respect. He was an enthusiast for classical literature and its personal embodiment. Unlike Dante, he despised scholastic and mystic learning, and went further back to the well of pagan antiquity. He studied it, not as a philologist or antiquarian, but as a man of taste. He admired the Greek and Roman authors for their eloquence, grace, and finish of style. He fully sympathized with their ruling passion, the love of fame, which became to him a substitute for the favor of God. Cicero and Virgil were his idols, the fathers of eloquence, the eyes of the Latin language. He spared no pains or money for old manuscripts. He found several Orations and Letters of Cicero, and a portion of Quintilian which had been unknown since the tenth century, and stimulated the

[1] Geiger applies to this Dialogue the words of Hettner: "*Tagebücher und Selbstbekenntnisse werden, mit Stetigkeit fortgesetzt, immer den Fluch der Eitelkeit an sich tragen; man steht vor dem Spiegel, man stellt sich in künstliche Attituden, man denkt und gestaltet sich als Romanheld.*"

humanists to imitation. When he passed an old convent, his first thought was to hunt up old books. He procured also a copy of Homer and several dialogues of Plato, but could not read them. Of the Christian fathers he esteemed Augustin most, next to him Ambrose and Jerome. He collected the first private library, also coins and medals.

His chief significance then consists in being a restorer of the study of classical antiquity as a means of higher self-culture. He was a literary Columbus, and showed the path to still greater discoveries.

He enjoyed the full benefit of his labors, and received daily letters of praise from all parts of Italy, from France, Germany, England, and Greece. The Emperor Charles IV. invited him three times to Germany that he might enjoy his eloquence and learn from him lessons of wisdom; and Pope Gregory XI., on hearing of his death in 1374, ordered good copies of all his books, especially his Africa, Eclogues, Epistles, Invectives, and his beautiful work on the Solitary Life. The next generation honored him, not as the singer of Laura, but as the scholar and sage. The Roman Church put a couple of his satirical epistles against the papacy of Avignon upon the Index of prohibited books, but ignored his worship of Laura and enthusiastic veneration of the heathen classics.

Petrarca is now best known and read as an Italian classic, next to Dante in rank, as the chief lyric poet and "the poet of love." He thought lightly of his Italian poetry as youthful plays, and rested his fame on his Latin works; but these are now nearly forgotten; while his *Canzoniere* or *Rime* is found in every collection of Italian poetry. We have from him 317 sonnets and 29 canzoni, all of which are erotic except 31. In them he reveals his heart to the world, with all the musical charms of the Italian tongue. His love poetry is an apotheosis of Laura, who was, like Dante's Beatrice, both a real and ideal being, a married woman with several children, and, at the same time, a symbol of beauty and virtue.[1] She

[1] He calls her "*mulier*" (in a letter to Giacomo Colonna) and speaks of *corpus illud egregium multis partubus* (not *perturbationibus*) *exhaustum*. Laura

stands midway between Dante's Beatrice and Boccaccio's Fiammetta, less sublime and heavenly than the former, more spiritual and elevated than the latter. Petrarca saw Laura for the first time in the church of Santa Clara at Avignon, April 6, 1327, and lost her in the great plague, April 6, 1348. He praised her beauty and loveliness in life with sentimental enthusiasm, and lamented her death with inconsolable grief. He anticipated Werther's sufferings in mediæval spirit. His Platonic love to Laura was a sweet malady of the soul which he nursed with anxious care. It was a burning desire to possess the impossible. It did not protect him against concubinage. He despised marriage as a degrading bondage and burden. Strange contrast! The Troubadours and the Minnesingers mostly chose married women for their idols. Their love was extra-nuptial and anti-matrimonial. The chivalrous love for woman had its root in the Teutonic instinct, and its crown in the worship of the Queen of Heaven; it was a protection to the virtue of woman, and yet compatible with the sensuality of man. The best feature in it was Christian, the worst was a survival of heathenism. The combination is characteristic of the morals of the Middle Ages, and especially of the Italian artists and poets of the Renaissance.

can therefore not have been a virgin, nor a *mere* allegory for air *(l'aura)*, or laurel-tree *(lauro, laurus)*, or poetry, or virtue, or philosophy, or all combined. Comp. the discussion of this question by Koerting, *l. c.*, p. 686 *sqq.* Symonds says (*Ital. Lit.*, I., 92): "That Laura was a real woman, and that Petrarch's worship of her was unfeigned; that he adored her with the senses and the heart as well as the head; but that this love was at the same time more a mood of the imagination, a delicate disease, a cherished wound, to which he constantly recurred as the most sensitive and lively wellspring of poetic fancy, than a downright and impulsive passion, may be clearly seen in the whole series of his poems and his autobiographical confessions. Laura appears to have treated him with the courtesy of a somewhat distant acquaintance, who was aware of his homage and was flattered by it. But her lover enjoyed no privileges of intimacy, and it may be questioned whether, if Petrarch could by any accident have made her his own, the fruition of her love would not have been a serious interruption to the happiness of his life." Comp. Symonds, *The Dantesque and Platonic Ideals of Love*, in the "Contemporary Review" for Sept., 1890.

CHAPTER V.

BOCCACCIO (1313–1375).

I.—Fr. Zambrini: *Bibliografia Boccacesca*, Bologna, 1875.

Boccaccio: *Opere volgari*, ed. by Moutier, Firenze, 1827–'34, in 17 vols., 8vo. *Le Lettere edite et inedite*, ed., transl., and explained by Fr. Corragini, Florence, 1877. There is no collected ed. of his Latin works.

II.—Manetti: *Dantis, Petrarchæ ac Boccaccii Vitæ*, Florentiæ, 1747. Baldelli: *Vita di Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1806. Tribolati: *Discorsi letterarii sul Decamerone del Boccaccio*, Pisa, 1873.—M. Landau: *G. Bocc. sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1877.—Attilio Hortis: *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio con particulare riguardo alla storia della erudizione nel medio evo alle letterature straniere*, Trieste, 1879 (956 pp., 4to).—*L. Koerting: *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1880 (the second vol. of his *Gesch. der Ital. Lit. im Zeitalter der Renaissance*).—Comp. Voigt: *l. c.*, I., 165–186; "Nuova Enciclop. Italiana," III., 1112 *sqq.* 6th ed., 1877); "Encycl. Brit.," III., 842 *sqq.* (9th ed.); Geiger: *Renaissance*, pp. 448–474.

"Dante is admired, Petrarca is praised, Boccaccio is read." They represent three phases of the Middle Ages in their transition to modern times. They differ as widely as the three ladies who controlled their lives and inspired their poetry: Beatrice and divine wisdom, Laura and tender pathos, Fiammetta and carnal passion. Passing from the *Divina Commedia* to the *Canzoniere*, from the *Canzoniere* to the *Decamerone*, we pass from a Gothic cathedral to a Greek temple, and from a Greek temple to a theatre.

Giovanni Boccaccio da Certaldo,[1] the commentator and biographer of Dante, the friend of Petrarca, forty-seven years younger than the first, nine years younger than the

[1] A small town or castle, twenty miles from Florence, where he was born, according to Filippo Villani; but Florence and Paris are also mentioned as the places of his birth. Petrarca calls him "Certaldese"; Koerting pleads for Florence; Geiger for Paris, where Boccaccio's mother lived and became acquainted with his father on a commercial journey.

second, ranks as the third among the luminaries of Italian literature in the fourteenth century. He is the founder of Italian prose, and the master of entertaining and charming narration. His poetic talent is far inferior to that of Dante and Petrarca, and he himself looked up to them with unenvious admiration, but with the reading public he is more popular than either.[1] Dante is sober and solemn as an exile, and visitor of the future world; Boccaccio is jovial and good-natured as an entertaining story-teller. The former viewed the world under the aspect of eternity; the latter under the aspect of time. The one is all ideal; the other all real.

Boccaccio was the illegitimate son of a Florentine merchant and a Parisian grisette. He was brought up first to business, and then to the legal profession; but he disliked both, and devoted himself to literature. He wrote as his epitaph: "*Studium fuit alma poesis.*" This was the motto of his life. He had no regular public office, and lived on a moderate patrimony. He often complained of his poverty. The Signoria of Florence, however, sent him on embassies to the Lord of Ravenna, to the German Emperor, and to Pope Urban V. at Avignon, and at last appointed him to a lectureship on the *Divina Commedia* with an annual salary of a hundred guilders in gold (1373). Before he had finished the 17th Canto of the *Inferno*, he was overtaken by death at Certaldo (Dec. 21, 1375).[2]

He was an unmarried layman, and freely indulged in irregular love.[3] His three children, of unknown mothers (Olympia, Marcus, and Julius), died before him. He spent several years in his youth at the licentious court of King

[1] Geiger (p. 49): "*In der Reihe der grossen italienischen Schriftsteller ist Boccaccio nicht blos zeitlich der letzte, sondern auch dem Charakter nach der schwächste, aber er ist ein Mensch von so glänzender Begabung, von so wunderbarer Vielseitigkeit, dass ihm auch heute noch der Ruhm gebührt, mit welchem die Zeitgenossenen verschwenderisch ihn überschütteten.*"

[2] The best edition of his *La Vita di Dante*, with a critical text and introduction of 174 pages by Francesco Marci-Leone, appeared at Florence, 1888.

[3] What he says, perhaps unjustly, of Dante, that he was "*molto dedito a lussuria*," applies to him, and may be inferred from his *Decamerone*.

Robert of Anjou at Naples, the patron of Petrarca and other men of letters. He fell in love with the king's natural daughter, Maria, whom he immortalized as Maria "Fiammetta." She was married to a Neapolitan nobleman when he first saw her in the church of St. Lorenzo, March 27, 1334, and remained his idol till he left Naples (1341). She was to him what Laura was to Petrarca, but more earthly and carnal. He was an admirer and friend of Petrarca. Their friendship may be compared to that between Schiller and Goethe.

In his old age he passed, like Petrarca, through a certain conversion, and warned others, like a preacher, against the vanity, luxury, and seductive arts of women. He would fain have blotted out the immoralities of his writings when it was too late.

Boccaccio equalled Petrarca in zeal for the ancient classics. He copied many of them with his own hand and bequeathed them to his father confessor in trust for the Augustinian convent of the Holy Spirit in Florence. He learned the elements of Greek, and employed a Greek of Calabria to make a literal translation of the Iliad and Odyssey for learners. He lent a copy of it to Petrarca. This was the beginning of a series of translations from Greek authors. In his *Amorosa Fiammetta* he mixed up heathen gods with saints and angels, like the later humanists.

His Latin works are mostly collections from classical antiquity, but have only an antiquarian interest.[1] His most popular work is the *Decamerone* (the Ten Days' Book), which he would gladly have destroyed or purged of its immoral and frivolous elements. It was written between 1348 and 1358. It is his poetry in prose. We may call it a *Commedia humana*, as contrasted with Dante's *Commedia divina*. The *Decamerone* contains one hundred stories of love intrigues, told in ten days by ten young persons (seven ladies and

[1] The best are: *De Genealogia Deorum*, a compend of mythology; and *De Claris Mulieribus*, biographies of 104 distinguished women, beginning with Eve, including the fictitious popess Johanna, and concluding with a eulogy on Queen Johanna of Naples, who was then still living.

three gentlemen of Florence) during the pestilence of 1348. The pestilence is most vividly described in the introduction. The stories are told in classical Italian with southern grace and näivete, and range from the highest pathos to the coarsest licentiousness. They are mostly based on real life, or borrowed from French poets. They read like the Arabian Nights. We are led a few miles away from the horror-stricken city, filled with ghastly corpses, to a blooming garden with singing birds and fresh fountains, where ten young lovers, surrounded by a train of servants and the luxuries of mediæval society, play and laugh and weep over the adventures. Some of the stories shock the modern sense of decency and propriety, yet we are assured that "no stain defiled the honor of the party." The plague, instead of leading men to repentance, inaugurated a reign of cynicism, lawlessness, and deterioration of manners. The *Decamerone* reveals a low state of morals among priests and monks as well as laymen and women. It derides marriage, the confessional, monkery, and the worship of relics. It vindicates the sensual passions and ridicules the ideal aspirations.

No wonder that the Council of Trent condemned the work for its immoralities, and still more for its anticlerical and antimonastic tone; but it could not prevent its circulation. It was first printed about 1470, and passed through innumerable editions and translations, complete and expurgated. A curious expurgated edition, authorized by the pope, appeared in Florence in 1573, which retains the indecencies, but changes the impure personages from priests and monks into laymen, and thus saves the honor of the Church.[1]

[1] Baldelli mentions eleven editions before 1500. An English translation appeared in 1624 under the title, *The Model of Mirth, Wit, Eloquence, and Conversation.* There are several German translations, one by D. W. Soltau, 3d ed., Berlin, 1874. See Manni, *Storia del Decamerone* (1742), and Landau on the sources of the Decameron (1869).

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF HUMANISM IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The seed sown by Petrarca and Boccacio bore fruit in the succeeding generation. The enthusiasm for classical literature, as a means for higher culture, seized not only students, but prelates, princes, and smaller lords all over Italy, especially in Florence, Naples, Venice, and Milan. Hand in hand with it went the search for new manuscripts, and the profitable business of transcribing and translating. The papal schism, which occurred in 1378, started discussion, and created a demand for learned apostolical secretaries and legates. The reformatory councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414), and Basel (1431) brought together the ablest scholars of different countries, and sharpened their wits. The Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437), for the healing of the Greek schism, was attended by Greeks, and some of them remained in Italy to teach their native language.

The interest in the search and discovery of classical literature has a parallel in the history of modern Egyptology and Assyriology. The Latin and Greek manuscripts were a revelation of a long-forgotten world to the scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions are to the scholars of the nineteenth century.

About the middle of the fifteenth century the Latin classics were pretty well collected, as we have them now, through the labors of Petrarca, Poggio, Filelfo, the liberality of the Medici and Pope Nicolas V.

The Greek classics and Greek Church fathers were brought to the West partly, and chiefly by Italians who went to the

East in search of manuscripts, and partly by Greeks who emigrated to the West before or after the conquest of Constantinople. The most active agent in this field was Giovanni Aurispa, who did for Greek literature what Poggio did for the Latin. He bought and sold with the shrewdness of an experienced bookseller. In 1423 he returned from Constantinople to Venice with two hundred and thirty-eight volumes of heathen classics, including Sophocles, Æschylus, Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Lucian. Thus these treasures were saved from ruthless destruction by the Turks, before the catastrophe of 1453 overtook Constantinople.

With the books were also imported inscriptions, coins, medals, and other curiosities. Ruins, which had been utterly neglected, assumed a new significance, and served as interpreters of the past.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PATRONS OF LETTERS AND ARTS.—COSIMO DE' MEDICI.

A Fabroni: *Magni Cosmi Medici Vita*, Pisa, 1789. Compare also the works of Roscoe and Reumont on Lorenzo the Magnificent, quoted in Ch. I.

It requires bricks as well as brains to build a church or a school. Faith opens the path, and secures the power of money, which, as a means, "answereth all things," while the *love* of it is "a root of all kinds of evil." Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea helped the impecunious disciples. The humanists were liberally aided by rich men who, without being scholars or authors themselves, appreciated the value of letters and turned their superfluous wealth to the best uses. The princes needed secretaries, orators, and poets who could conduct a polished correspondence, write addresses, and compose odes for festive occasions, and celebrate their deeds.

Among the princely patrons of the new learning, Cosimo de' Medici, of Florence (1389–1464), occupies the first rank.[1] He was the richest banker of the republic, and the leader of the democratic party; not a scholar in the technical sense, but scholarly, well-read, and deeply interested in literature from taste and ambition. He was both the Rothschild and Mæcenas of his age. He visited Constance during the council (1414), travelled extensively in France and Germany, married a Countess Bardi, continued the prosperous business of his father (1429), and ruled Florence, after a temporary exile, as a republican merchant-prince, for thirty years, without making the people feel it. He severely taxed the rich, was not very scrupulous in the choice of means, and

[1] He was called *Cosimo* or *Cosmo*, after the saint, on whose day he was born (Cosmo and Damiano). The name had a classical and Christian sound.

occasionally promoted insignificant favorites to places of influence. One of them who did not know how to conduct himself in the new situation, asked his advice, which was promptly given: "Dress well, and speak little."

Cosimo encouraged scholars by gifts of money and the purchase of manuscripts, without the air of condescension which spoils the gift, but with a feeling of respect and gratitude for superior merit. His commercial and political connections with all parts of Europe enabled him to secure the rarest manuscripts. He employed as his literary minister Niccolò de' Niccoli (1364–1437), who was a centre of attraction to literary men in Florence, and collected, and in great part copied, 8,000 codices, valued at 4,000 sequins.[1] He founded the Platonic Academy and the Medicean Library (the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, adjoining the church of San Lorenzo), which now numbers about 12,000 manuscripts, some very rare, superbly written and illustrated. He encouraged the fine arts with the same enlightened liberality. He was a great admirer of the saintly painter, Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole, and ordered him to paint the whole history of the crucifixion on one of the walls of the chapter-house of San Marco. He had himself represented in kneeling posture in a picture of the Adoration of the Magi. He contributed to churches and convents, and adorned the city with stately buildings. He infused into the Medici blood a love for polite learning and art, and had a worthy successor in his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent. He was the model of a Florentine gentleman, merchant, statesman, and public benefactor. He lived for the welfare of the republic, and earned the title "Pater Patriæ."

Another distinguished Mæcenas was Alfonso, King of Arragon and Naples, the special patron of the skeptical Valla and the licentious Beccadelli. He listened with delight to literary, philosophical, and theological lectures and disputes, which he arranged in his library. He allowed the humanists full liberty of speech, and protected them against religious bigotry.

[1] A *zecchino* is a gold coin worth about 9 shillings or $2.20.

Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (d. 1482), was both a scholar and a patron of scholars, and an admirer of patristic as well as classical learning. He loved also music, painting, and architecture. He erected costly buildings, and founded, at an expense of 40,000 ducats, a library, which was afterwards (1657) incorporated in the Vatican Library. He was not surpassed in liberality by any prince of his age, except Pope Nicolas V., who commanded richer resources.

Cardinals vied with princes in encouraging the humanists, and some of them, as Bessarion, Giuliano de' Cesarini, Gerardo Landriani, were men of learning. The popes, from the time of Nicolas V., rewarded the humanists and artists by grants of money, annuities, secretaryships, and bishoprics.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPE NICOLAS V. AS A PATRON OF LEARNING AND ART.

Biographies of Nicolas V., by Manetti (in Muratori, *Script.* T. III., p. 2), Vespasiano (in Angelo Mai's *Spicilegium*, I., 24 *sqq.*), Dom Georgius (1742), Zanelli (1855), Sforza (1883).

Comp. Voigt, II., 53 *sqq.* ; Geiger, pp. 121 *sqq.* ; Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, Bk. XIII., Ch. 77 ; Creighton, II., 329–343 ; Pastor, I., 280–490.

Nicolas V. (1447–1455) marks the triumph of humanism at the centre of the Roman Church. He was the first and best pope of the Renaissance, and its most liberal supporter.

Thomas Parentucelli, called Thomas of Sarzana, was born of poor parents in 1398, studied at Bologna, took the degree of Master of Arts at the age of eighteen, and became Doctor of Theology at twenty-two. He served as private tutor in Florence, and caught the spirit of this Italian Athens. At the age of twenty-five he was made steward of Cardinal Niccolo Abergati, and ordained priest. He was for twenty years the inseparable companion of this prelate, who combined ascetic piety with interest in literature, and followed him on his embassies to France, England, Burgundy, Germany, and Northern Italy. On these journeys he acquired political wisdom, and collected rare books, among which were Lactantius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Irenæus, twelve epistles of Ignatius, and an epistle of Polycarp. He copied many manuscripts with his own hand. He took a leading part at the Council of Ferrara and Florence in the debates with the Greeks on the procession of the Holy Spirit. He was made Apostolical sub-deacon by Eugene IV. (1443), with a salary of three hundred ducats, and sent on foreign embassies. In 1444 he was appointed Bishop of Bologna, and in 1446 cardinal. But he was still very poor

until Cosimo de' Medici furnished him with all the money he needed. He arranged his library, and afterwards eclipsed it by his own at Rome.

On the death of Eugene, in 1447, Thomas reached the highest dignity of the Church, and assumed the name of Nicolas V., in honor of his saintly patron. The year of jubilee, 1450, at which Frederick III. was married and crowned Emperor of Germany, brought enormous treasures to Rome. In the bank of the Medici alone 100,000 florins were deposited for the papacy. He was now enabled to carry out his double passion for architecture and literature. The recollection of his former poverty made him all the more liberal to indigent scholars. He was willing to spend all his money for books and buildings. "He was an honest, sincere, virtuous, ardent, and somewhat choleric man, unselfish, and liberal even to profusion, in whom the humanistic spirit—its love of letters, its love of fame—almost prevailed over the churchly, and cooled or neutralized the Christian."[1] He cared more for scholars and architects than for monks and theologians; he loved pomp and splendor in all things. Yet he cannot be charged, like so many other popes, with simony and nepotism; nor did he neglect his spiritual duties.

Nicolas made Rome the literary centre of Christendom. His reign was a jubilee of architects and humanists. He had an open door and purse for worthy scholars. He gave them employment as transcribers, translators, or secretaries at liberal salaries, but he made them work night and day. He sent agents to all parts of Italy and other countries, even to Russia and England, in search of rare books, and had them copied on parchment, and luxuriously bound in Russia leather or velvet with silver clasps. He thus collected the works of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Philo Judæus, and of Greek fathers, as Eusebius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Cyril, and Dionysius the Areopagite. He kindled a feverish enthusiasm for the translation of

[1] Woolsey, in "The New Englander" for Jan., 1865, p. 69 *sq.*

Greek authors among the best scholars, as Guarino, Valla, Poggio, Perotto, Filelfo, Theodore of Gaza, George of Trebisond, and many others whom he employed. He was determined to enrich the West with translations of all the surviving monuments of Hellenic literature. He paid five hundred scudi to Valla for a Latin version of Thucydides. He presented to Nicolas Perotti, for his translation of Polybius, a purse of five hundred new papal ducats, with the remark that the sum was not equal to his merits. He offered ten thousand gold pieces for a translation of Homer, but in vain; for Marsuppini and Oratius only furnished fragments of the Iliad, and Valla's translation of the first sixteen books was a paraphrase in prose. He gave Manetti, his secretary and biographer, though absent from Rome, a salary of six hundred ducats, without special obligation, and before he had finished a book in defense of Christianity against Jews and Gentiles, and an original translation of the Scriptures. No such liberal and enlightened friend of books ever sat on the chair of St. Peter.

His passion for books was equalled by his passion for building. He began a systematic reconstruction of the churches and palaces of Rome, which had fallen into decay since the transfer of the papacy to Avignon. He conceived the plan of rebuilding St. Peter's, which was afterwards carried out by Julius II. and Leo X.

He wished to impress every visitor to Rome with the majesty and durability of the Roman religion. But in strange contrast with his love for ancient literature and art, he destroyed some of the noblest remains of ancient architecture. He made the Colosseum a quarry. Michel Angelo did the same. It is asserted that there is hardly a stone in St. Peter's that is not taken from the Colosseum and ancient palaces and villas of the heathen emperors.

CHAPTER IX.

THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

Nicolas was the founder of the modern Vatican Library, and thereby became a permanent benefactor of future generations. This is his greatest monument. For that library with its later additions is the most valuable in the world for rare manuscripts in Oriental, Greek, Latin, and ecclesiastical literature. No such library had existed since the days of the Ptolemies in Alexandria.

There were, of course, older pontifical libraries and archives, first in the Lateran, afterwards in the Vatican palace, for the use of the popes, their secretaries, theologians, and canonists.[1] Jerome first mentions, at the close of the fourth century, the *chartarium ecclesiæ Romanæ*, afterwards called *scrinium* or *scrinia sedis apostolicæ* (because the books were kept in closed cases). But the earlier collections were destroyed by fire, or the ravages of war, or scattered among the pope's relations. A portion found its way into the Borghese family. The books of the Avignon popes were transferred to Rome by Martin V. The papal Regesta and papal correspondence from the time of Innocent III. are preserved, and constitute the secret Archives of the Vatican, which must not be confounded with the Vatican Library.

Nicolas intended the Vatican Library for the common use of all scholars.[2] He bought for it about 5,000 volumes

[1] Assemani and De Rossi date the Vatican Library from the Gospel of Mark, which was written in Rome for Romans, and from the parchments which Paul as a prisoner in Rome ordered Timothy to bring from Troas (2 Tim. iv: 13). This is certainly very far-fetched.

[2] "*Pro communi doctorum virorum commodo.*" But this intention has only recently been carried out.

of valuable classical and biblical manuscripts at an estimated cost of 40,000 scudi—an enormous collection for those days.[1] He had besides a private library consisting chiefly of Latin classics. No other library of that age reached 1,000 volumes. Bessarion had only 600 volumes, Niccoli in Florence 800, Federico of Urbino 772 (which cost him 30,000 ducats).

Among the original Vatican manuscripts was the oldest and most important Codex of the Greek Bible (Codex Vaticanus, No. 1209), which was probably imported from the East (perhaps by or through Cardinal Bessarion), but was long unknown or only imperfectly compared till recent times, when it has done more than any other authority to settle the oldest and purest text of the Greek Testament.[2]

Nicolas could say with truth to the cardinals on his death-bed, that he accumulated his literary treasures not by avarice, simony, or parsimony, but "only through the grace of the Creator, the peace of the Church, and the tranquillity of his pontificate."

His immediate successors did not share his literary taste. Calixtus III., who appreciated only canon law, and tried to

[1] Giovanni Tortelli, the first librarian who made a catalogue (unfortunately lost), mentions 9,000 volumes (*volumi*), but Pius II. only 3,000, Manetti and Vespasiano 5,000. The last number is accepted as the most likely by Voigt (II., 207 *sq.*), Pastor (I. 417), and Geiger (p. 125).

[2] The New Testament from Matthew to Hebrews ix : 14 (pp. 1235–1518 of the Codex) has been reproduced by photographic process at Rome in 1889: *H NEA ΔIAΘHKH Novum Test. e Codice Vaticano 1209 nativi textus Græci primo omnium photographice repraesentatum auspice Leone XIII. Pont. Max. curante Jos. Cozza-Luzi Abate Basiliano, S. Rom. Ecclesiæ Vicebibliothecario. Romæ e Bibl. Vatic. agente photographo Danesi.* MDCCCLXXXIX. Only 100 copies were printed. The Old Testament will follow. This real facsimile reproduces not only the original text (B*, or manus prima), but also the corrections of the two later hands (B^2 and B^3), and is altogether more trustworthy than the quasi-facsimile edition of Vercellone and Cozza, published in 1868 (which superseded the worthless print of Angelo Mai, 1857). I made a careful comparison of the original and the photograph, in May, 1890, in the Vatican Library, and communicated the results in an article in "The Sunday-School Times," Philadelphia, May 17, 1890. Comp. the review of Dr. O. von Gebhardt in the "Theol. Literaturzeitung," for August 9, 1890 (vol. xv., 16). On the value and history of the Vatican Codex, see Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Text*, pp. 113 *sqq.*, 425 *sqq.*, and Gregory, *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's 8th ed. of the Greek Test., Pars I. (1884), pp. 358–366.

rouse Europe against the Turks,[1] Pius II. (although himself a scholar), and Paul II., did nothing for the increase of the library. But Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) deserves the name of the second founder of the Vatican Library. He organized, enlarged, and endowed it with a permanent fund, appointed two famous scholars, Bussi and Platina, as prefects with a liberal salary, and separated the books from the documentary archives (the *bibliotheca secreta*).[2] Sixtus V. (1585–1590) built the magnificent halls which are richly ornamented with frescoes.

Several libraries were subsequently incorporated in the Vatican. The largest of these additions are the collection of Fulvius Ursinus (1600); the Bibliotheca Palatina, of Heidelberg (1632), which was captured by Tilly and presented to the Pope by Elector Maximilian I. of Bavaria; the Bibliotheca Urbinas (1657), founded by Federigo da Monte Feltro, Duke of Urbino (d. 1482), the library of the Convent of Bobbio (1621), the Bibliotheca Reginensis or Alexandrina Christina (1690), once the property of Queen Alexandra-Christina of Sweden, the learned daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, and the Bibliotheca Ottoboniana, which Pope Alexander VIII. purchased in 1746 from the Ottobuoni family.

The library was injured by the barbarous sack of Rome in 1527, transferred in part to Paris during the wars, of the French Revolution but restored after 1814, with the exception of a small portion of the Palatinate Library (the German manuscripts), which were returned to Heidelberg.

Rome was formerly the chief market of books—the Leipzig of the Middle Ages; but after the transfer of the papacy to Avignon the city passed into a state of semi-barbaric confusion until the time of Nicolas V., when she again resumed

[1] Calixtus III., according to Vespasiano, regarded the accumulation of books by his predecessor as a waste of the treasures of the Church of God, gave away a couple of hundred volumes to the old Cardinal Isidoros of Kiew, and melted the silver ornaments of many manuscripts into coin for a war against the Turks. Voigt, II., 209. But this report seems to be at least exaggerated, and is doubted by Pastor, I., 505 *sqq.*

[2] On the merits of Sixtus IV. for the library see Pastor, II., 564–570.

her literary supremacy till the period of the Reformation, to be left behind in turn by Venice, Leipzig, Paris, London, and New York.

Valuable public libraries were also founded during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Florence, Venice, Urbino, Milan, and other Italian cities. The Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana at Florence, and the Ambrosiana at Milan, are the richest in ancient manuscripts, next to the Vatican, and contain most beautiful illustrated copies of Homer, Virgil, Cicero (*Orations*, and *Familiar Letters*), St. Augustin (*The City of God*), Dante (*The Divina Commedia*), and other pagan and Christian classics, to which scholars must still resort for the purest texts. But for printed books the Italian libraries are surpassed by those of Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, Munich, and other cities.

The great public libraries are the cathedrals of modern times.

NOTES.

The Vatican Library contains now over 30,000 MSS., which are the most valuable part, and about 100,000 printed works. The latter have not yet been properly catalogued, and hence I heard various estimates even from officials. A splendid folio of fac-simile specimens of rare MSS. was published by the Propaganda Fidei in commemoration of the Jubilee of Leo XIII. in 1888.

Quite distinct from the Vatican Library proper, and in a dozen or more separate rooms on a lower floor, are the Papal Archives (*Archivio secreto della Santa Sede*), which contain the Papal Regesta (a *regerendo*, or *Regestra*, *Registra*, *Registrum*, a *registrando*), the correspondence of the popes and their legates, and other documents especially relating to the Curia. The Regesta are unbroken from the time of Innocent III. (1198); three earlier documents, one of Gregory VII. and two of John VIII., are mere copies.

There was formerly much well-founded complaint of the illiberal administration of these literary treasures; but since the year 1880, by order of the scholarly Pope Leo XIII., they have been made accessible to scholars on proper recommendation for four hours in the morning on about two hundred days of the year. The use of the Archives is more restricted, and requires a special permission from the Pope, or the Cardinal Librarian, on a written application. Leo XIII. has also ordered the preparation of a printed Catalogue, which was begun with the Catalogue of the Palatinate Library, as a contribution to the fifth centenary of the Heidelberg University in 1886.

A full history of the Vatican Library and Archives is still wanting, but there are valuable contributions, as follows: J. B. de Rossi (the well known archæologist and writer on the Catacombs): *De origine historia indicibus Scrinii et Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ commentatio* (to Boniface VIII.), Rom., 1886 (Prolego-

mena to the first volume of the printed Catalogue of the Palatinate Library, pp. 11–132); E. Müntz: *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVI^e^ siècle. Notes et documents*, Paris, 1886; Müntz and Fabre: *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e^ siècle d'après des documents inédits*, Paris, 1887; Franc. Ehrle (S. J.): *Zur Geschichte des Schatzes, der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste im 14ten Jahrh.*, in Denifle-Ehrle, "Archiv für Lit. und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters," I. 1–48, 228–364; II. 1–105; and Ehrle: *Historia Bibliothecæ Rom. Pontificum tum Bonifatianæ tum Avenionensis enarrata et illustrata*, Rom., 1890 (the best, but goes down only to Martin V.). On the Greek MSS., two articles of Batifol: *La Vaticane*, in "Revue des questions historiques," Paris, 1889. Information is also given in the Prolegomena to the Bened. ed. of the *Regestum Clementis Papæ V.*, vol. I., Rom., 1885. D. Greg. Palmieri, one of the sub-achivarians, gives a list of the papal *Regesta* from Innocent III. to Clement VIII. (1198–1605) in *Ad Vaticani Archivi Roman. Pontificum Regesta Manductio*, Rom., 1884, pp. xxviii. and 175.

CHAPTER X.

THE ITALIAN HUMANISTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—SALUTATO, MARSIGLIO, BRUNI, POGGIO, TRAVERSARI, FILELFO, VALLA.

We add brief notices of the chief promoters of humanism in the first half of the fifteenth century.[1]

Coluccio (*i.e.* Niccolò) Salutato (1330–1406), like Petrarca, the son of an exile from Florence, became apostolical secretary to Pope Urban V., and since 1375 Chancellor of the Republic of Florence. He wrote Latin eclogues and elegies, lives of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, a Latin version of the *Divina Commedia*, and an epic on the wars of Pyrrhus. He collected a library of six hundred volumes. He replaced the barbarous Latin of the Middle Ages by the classical Latin of the Augustan age. He was the first to acquire a collection of complete copies of Cicero's Letters, and accompanied them with valuable glosses. The MS. is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. He improved the text of Seneca, and contended that this philosopher could not have been the author of the tragedies ascribed to him. This was the beginning of literary criticism in philology.

Luigi Marsiglio (1342–1394), a pupil of Petrarca (who presented him with Augustin's *Confessions* as a weapon against the atheistic Averroists), was a priest and preacher of the Dominican order, an admired theological and classical scholar, and stood at the head of a free academy in Florence whose members met in the convent Santo Spirito to discuss the merits of classical literature and philosophy. He wrote

[1] For further details in this section I refer chiefly to Tiraboschi, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Geiger.

little, but his hearers thought him a fountain of all knowledge.

Giovanni Villani, the historian of Florence (1280–1348), was a merchant and held various political and diplomatic offices. He leaned to the Guelf party. He knew and esteemed the ancient historians, but wrote in the Tuscan dialect. His Chronicle includes an account of the Papal jubilee in 1300, which he himself attended. He was impressed with the thought that Rome was declining and his native Florence rising, and ready for great things. He is not a critical or philosophical historian, but an agreeable narrator, and, in spite of apparent superficiality, he is trustworthy in Florentine and other Italian events down to the plague of 1348. His brother, Matteo, continued the history to 1363, and his nephew, Filippo, to 1365.[1]

Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444), a pupil of Chrysoloras, gives us an idea of the extraordinary sensation caused by the revival of the Greek language after a slumber of seven hundred years, and the rare opportunity afforded of acquiring it from such a teacher. Bruni left all his other studies for the language of Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes. He acquired great fame by his literary and political activity. He was papal secretary in Rome and for a time chancellor of Florence, and wrote letters, orations, histories, philosophical essays, and translations from the Greek. He was a pious Catholic, deplored the schisms, and desired the reunion of Christendom.[2]

Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) was secretary of Martin V., then of Nicolas V., and lived mostly in Florence and Rome. He was the best-known humanist of his day, famous for his licentious *Facetiæ*, and his letters. He had an unbounded passion for classical antiquity, and for literary controversy. He excelled chiefly in Latin, but knew also Greek and a little Hebrew. He was an enthusiastic book-hunter. He came to Constance as papal secretary, and made excur-

[1] *Istorie Fiorentine*, in many editions, one of Milan, 1848, in seven volumes, another at Triest, 1858.

[2] *Leonardi Bruni Aretini Epistolæ*, ed. Mehus, Flor., 1742, 2 vols.

sions to the neighboring Benedictine abbeys of Reichenau, Weingarten, and St. Gall, in search of old manuscripts. He found at St. Gall valuable books covered with dust, especially a complete copy of Quintilian's *Institutio*, which he copied with his own hand in fifty-three days. In Cluny and other French convents, he discovered new orations of Cicero. He also visited Cologne, and "barbarous England," and translated several Greek authors.

Although in the service of the Curia, during a momentous period for popes and anti-popes and reformatory councils, Poggio had no interest in ecclesiastical affairs and remained a layman in priestly garments. He detested and ridiculed the monks, and undermined respect for the church which supported him. In his *Dialogue against Hypocrisy* he gathered a number of scandalous stories of the tricks and frauds practised by monks in the name of religion. He witnessed the martyrdom of Jerome of Prague (1415), and described his heroic courage as being superior to that of Mutius Scävola in suffering his hand to be burned, and of Socrates in drinking the hemlock. He was warned to be more careful in praising heretics. He had keen wit, a bitter tongue, and loose habits. He lived with a concubine, who bore him fourteen children, and when reproached for it, he frivolously replied that he only imitated the common habit of the clergy. In 1433, at the age of fifty-four, he left his concubine and married a Florentine maiden of eighteen, by whom he had four children. His *Facetiæ*, or jest-book, is a collection of amusing and obscene stories which he and his friends in the Papal Chancery used to tell in leisure moments, and acquired immense popularity.[1]

Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), General of the Camalduensian order (since 1431), combined ascetic piety with interest in heathen literature, and daily associated with men of different views and habits. He collected 238 manuscripts in Venice. He translated from the Greek Fathers, and took a leading part in the discussions with the Orientals at the union

[1] *Opera Poggii*, Basil., 1513, and other editions. *Epistolæ Poggii Florentini*, ed. Tonelli, Florence, 1832, '59, '61, 3 vols. Shepherd's *Life of Poggio*, Italian ed. enlarged by Tonelli, Florence, 1825, 2 vols.

Council of Ferrara. He was, perhaps, the first monk since the days of Jerome who learned a little Hebrew. There was in him a strange conflict between monastic humility and humanistic love of fame. He revered the Church Fathers, and yet liked to quote from profane authors.[1]

Carlo Marsuppini, of Arezzo (hence called Carlo Aretino), belonged to the same circle, but was an open heathen, who died without confession and sacrament. He was nevertheless highly esteemed as teacher and chancellor of Florence, and honorably buried in the church of Santa Croce (1463).[2] He astonished his pupils by quotations of classical authors from the rich stores of his memory. Nicolas V. called him to Rome as translator of Homer, but he remained in Florence, a faithful adherent of the Medici.

Francesco Filelfo, or Philelphus (1398–1481), was one of the first Latin and Greek scholars, and much admired and much hated by his contemporaries. He had a varied fortune during a long life. He visited Greece, married for his first wife the daughter of John Chrysoloras, returned to Italy with a rich supply of manuscripts, taught at Venice and Bologna for several years, and was Professor of eloquence and of Greek in the University of Florence, where he had as many as four hundred hearers of all ranks and nationalities, including two future popes (Nicolas V. and Æneas Sylvius). He made many enemies by his excessive self-assertion and poisonous tongue, and involved himself in scandalous literary feuds with Niccolò, Poggio, Traversari, and the Medici family. He joined the aristocratic faction which banished Cosimo de' Medici in 1433; but when the Medicean party triumphed in the next year, he retired to Siena and was banished from Florentine territory. Cosimo afterwards tried to conciliate him through Traversari, but Filelfo proudly refused, writing to Traversari: "Cosimo uses the dagger and poison against me; I use my talent and pen against him. I want not Cosimo's friendship, and despise his enmity." At last, however, after many changes of residence, he was recon-

[1] *Epistolæ Ambrogii Traversarii*, ed. Mehus, Flor., 1749.

[2] A monument was also erected to his honor in the same church which is the pantheon of Florentine geniuses. Geiger gives an illustration of it, p. 98.

ciled to the Medici family, and accepted in his old age an invitation from Lorenzo the Magnificent to the chair of Greek in Florence.

Filelfo combined the worst and best features of the humanists. He was conceited, mean, and selfish. He thought himself equal if not superior to Virgil and Cicero.[1] He rivalled Poggio in malignity and indecency of satire and invective. He deemed no stipend equal to his merits. He was always begging or levying contributions on princes by his poetry, and yet kept several servants and six horses. He had, however, a family of twenty-four children from his three wives. He was ungrateful to his benefactors and treacherous to his friends. By his longevity he binds together two generations before and after the invention of printing, and saw his numerous Latin and Greek poems, orations, fables, meditations, and epistles multiplied by the press.[2]

Guarino of Verona (1370–1460), a pupil of Chrysoloras, visited Constantinople, taught Greek in several cities of Italy, and acted as one of the interpreters at the Council of Ferrara. He trained many young men, even from England and Hungary, and secured their esteem and gratitude. He was more free from envy, jealousy, bitterness, and immoderate love of fame than most humanists of his age. He wrote a Greek and Latin Grammar for the use of his pupils, a number of translations, poems, and letters. Nicolas V. engaged him to translate Strabo's geography, and paid him a thousand scudi for two parts; the third part Guarino sold to a gentleman of Venice after the pope's death (1455).

Vittorino Rambaldoni da Feltre (1378–1446) wrote very little, but was the prince of schoolmasters who trained the character as well as the intellect. He taught many pupils

[1] He thus sounds his praise:

"*Quod si Virgilius superat me carminis ullis*
Laudibus, orator illo ego sum melior.
Sin Tulli eloquio præstat facundia nostro,
Versibus ille meis cedit ubique minor.
Adde quod et lingua possum hæc præstare Pelasga,
Et Latia. Talem quem mihi des alium?"

[2] His life has been written by Carlo de' Rosmini, Milan, 1808, 3 vols. *Epistolæ Filelfi*, Venet., 1502 fol.

at Padua, Venice, and especially at Mantua. He was a strictly religious scholar in a half heathenish generation, and set a good example by chastity, temperance, and the observance of all the devotions prescribed to priests and monks. 'His house," says Vespasian, his biographer, "was a sacristy, where good customs, acts, and words were treasured up." [1]

Laurentius Valla (Lorenzo della Valle, 1406–1457) was the best Latinist and the most independent scholar of his age, and the pioneer of historical criticism. He taught the classical languages in the larger Italian cities, was secretary to Pope Nicolas V., and held several ecclesiastical benefices. His book on the *Elegancies of the Latin Language* served for a long time as the best guide of Latin composition.

He had a skeptical mind, and delighted in paradoxes and in attacks upon current beliefs. He ventured to criticise and correct Jerome's Vulgate in his *Annotations to the New Testament* (published by Erasmus in 1505). He rejected Christ's Letter to King Abgar of Edessa, as a forgery. He doubted the apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed. He exploded the hierarchical fable of the *Donation of Constantine* as "contradictory, impossible, stupid, barbarous, and ridiculous," and thereby undermined the temporal power of the papacy. No wonder that he excited the suspicion of the Inquisition; but he escaped its grasp by the hypocritical profession that he believed as Mother Church believed.[2]

[1] Comp. on him Geiger, p. 171 *sqq.*, and the third edition of Burckhardt, pp. 213 *sq.*, of the English translation, where Vittorino is described as "one of those men who devote their whole life to an object for which their natural gifts constitute a special vocation. He wrote almost nothing, and finally destroyed the few poems of his youth which he had long kept by him. He studied with unwearied industry; he never sought after titles, which, like all outward distinctions, he scorned; and he lived on terms of the closest friendship with teachers, companions, and pupils, whose good-will he knew how to preserve. He excelled in bodily no less than in mental exercises, was an admirable rider, dancer, and fencer; wore the same clothes in winter as in summer; walked in nothing but sandals, even during the severest frost; and lived so that, till his old age, he was never ill. He so restrained his passions, his natural inclination to sensuality and anger, that he remained chaste his whole life through, and hardly ever hurt any one by a hard word."

[2] See my article on Laurentius Valla in the "Presbyterian and Reformed Review," for Jan., 1891. The works of Valla were published at Basel, 1540, and three new works from Vatican MSS. by Vahlen, Vienna, 1869.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREEK HUMANISTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. CHRYSOLORAS, PLETHON, BESSARION.

In 1453 Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks. The Cross was conquered by the Crescent, to rise again in God's own good time over a regenerate Orient.

This event increased the emigration of Greek scholars to the West, but its influence on the promotion of Greek learning has often been overrated. The more distinguished scholars, as Plethon and Bessarion, had previously settled in Italy; and the great mass of Greek manuscripts likewise were imported by Italians and Greeks long before 1453.

Upon the whole, the Greek immigrants played a part inferior to that of the Latin scholars whom we mentioned in the previous section. They were confined to the teaching of the Greek language and philosophy. They were watched with some jealousy by the Italians, and deemed deficient in taste and refinement. They may be compared to the Jewish Rabbis from whom Christian divines learned the elements of Hebrew, but little else. They seldom acquired a good knowledge of Latin and Italian, and became burdensome by their poverty and want of success. Guarino, Aurispa, Filelfo, and Valla surpassed them even in Greek scholarship.[1]

I.—Greek scholars who emigrated before the fall of Constantinople:

Emanuel Chrysoloras, of Constantinople (1350–1415), was the first competent teacher of the Greek language in

[1] Voigt, II., 124: "*Es ging mit den Griechen in demselben Grade abwärts, in welchem die Kenntniss ihrer Sprache und Literatur unter den Italienern emporstieg. Als sie in immer grösseren Schaaren und meistens als Bettler kamen, chlug die Ehrfurcht, mit welcher man Anfangs diese Sprôsslinge der homerschen Heldengeschlechter und der alten Athener angestaunt, völlig um.*"

the West. He taught in Florence, Milan, Padua, Venice, and Rome; and having conformed to the Latin Church, was taken as interpreter to the Council of Constance, where he died. He wrote the first Greek grammar (printed in 1484). The first Greek lexicon was prepared by a Carmelite monk, Giovanni Crastone, or Crestone, of Piacenza, and appeared in 1497. We have little conception of the difficulty of acquiring a book knowledge of that language without these elementary helps.

Georgios Gemistos (1355–1450), called Plethon or Pletho,[1] a native of Byzantium, appeared with the Byzantine Emperor at the Council of Ferrara, in 1439, and favored the union of the two churches, but did not conform to Rome, like Bessarion, his pupil. He seems to have returned to the East, and died in extreme old age. He was a follower of Plato, and introduced a more accurate study of that philosopher into Western Europe. He wrote on the laws of Plato, and on the difference between Plato and Aristotle. His countrymen called him "the sage." The Italians listened reverently to "the second Plato" with silvery hair, as he explained to them the mysteries of philosophy with youthful enthusiasm. They admired his wisdom, his eloquence, and virtue. Cosimo de' Medici heard him often, and conceived the idea of a Platonic Academy in Florence. Plato was then comparatively unknown in Europe, while Aristotle in various forms had long ruled the scholastic philosophers.

Pletho's philosophy, however, was not pure Platonism, which he knew only imperfectly, but a mystic theosophy derived from Porphyrios, Jamblichos, and Proclos. It was veiled in allegorical language and surrounded by the nimbus of mystery.[2]

[1] He assumed this name in Italy for its affinity in sound to Plato.

[2] W. Gass: *Gennadius und Pletho, Aristotelismus und Platonismus in der griechischen Kirche*, Breslau, 1844, in two parts. Fritz Schultze: *Georgius Gemisthos Plethon und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen*, Jena, 1874. Gennadius (Georgius Scholarius), who likewise attended the Union Council of Ferrara, at first favored the union, but on his return opposed it, as Patriarch of Constantinople, and prepared the orthodox confession of faith which bears his name. See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, I., 46 *sqq.*

Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), a native of Trebisond, studied at Constantinople under Pletho, was sent to the Union Council of Ferrara to represent the Eastern Church, as titular Bishop of Nicæa.[1] He boasted that he was regarded in his home as a miracle of learning. He at first defended the creed of his Church, but afterwards accepted the *Filioque*, and the supremacy of the pope, and wrote books in justification of his conversion, for which the pope rewarded him with a pension of 600 scudi. He considered it as his mission to mediate between the two Churches. Eugenius promoted him to the dignity of a cardinal in 1439, and Nicolas V. sent him as legate to Bologna, to restore the University. After the death of Nicolas he would have been elevated to the papal chair, if the cardinals had not, upon reflection, deemed it unwise to elect a neophyte with a Greek beard and bushy eyebrows.[2] He died at Ravenna.

Bessarion was a philosophical theologian, like all Greeks, and took more interest in the metaphysical mystery of the eternal procession of the Spirit than the practical work of the Spirit upon the hearts of men. His importance consists in the advocacy of Platonism, and in his protecting care of unfortunate Greek scholars, to whom he generously devoted a good part of his income. He vindicated Plato against the charge of immorality and alleged hostility to orthodox doctrines, pointed to his belief in the creation and the immortality of the soul, quoted the favorable opinions of Basil, Augustin, and other ancient fathers, and represents him as a bridge from heathenism to Christianity. But he was also an admirer of Aristotle, and blamed Plethon for his violent opposition to that great philosopher. He was a Pope Nicolas in a smaller sphere, surrounded by a learned coterie. He collected at an expense of 15,000 ducats (Platina says 30,000) a library of 900 codices, and 300 printed books, and

[1] Pius II. professed not to know whether that bishopric was small, or merely a name.

[2] When the College of Cardinals was on the point of electing him pope, the Cardinal of Avignon roused the jealousy of the West by asking: "Would ye have for a pope a Greek, a recent proselyte, a man with a beard? Is the Latin Church fallen so low, that it must have recourse to the Greeks?"

gave it (in 1468) to the republic of Venice,—a second Byzantium, where he first landed. It was, in Greek ecclesiastical and philosophical literature, the richest library in Europe, and furnished Aldo Manuzio with the material for his valuable prints.[1]

George of Trebisond or Trapezus (1395–1484) came to Italy about 1420, conformed to the papal church, taught eloquence and Aristotelian philosophy in Venice, and then at Rome, and was appointed an apostolic scribe by Nicolas V., who supported him liberally, but afterwards cooled down when he learned that George had taken some liberties in the translation of the *Evangelical Præparation* of Eusebius. He was a conceited, disputatious, and irascible man, and quarrelled with Valla, Poggio, Theodore of Gaza, Bessarion, and Perotti. Bessarion convicted him of 239 errors in his translation of Plato's *Laws*, whereupon Nicolas V. lost confidence in him and withdrew his patronage. He was twice driven from Rome, repaired to Naples, and then to Venice, where the Doge appointed him lecturer in the humanities at a salary of 150 ducats. He returned to Rome and ended his long and troubled life as prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo. His chief work is a comparison of Aristotle and Plato, in favor of the former.

Theodore of Gaza, the rival of George of Trapezus, was a native of Thessalonica, left for Italy in 1430, acquired a thorough knowledge of Latin, taught in Ferrara from 1440 to 1450, and then passed into the service of Pope Nicolas, after whose death he removed to Naples, and died in Calabria in 1476. He was a zealous Platonist, and translated several Greek works into Latin, and some works of Cicero into Greek.

John Argyropulus, an Aristotelian philosopher and translator, taught fifteen years with great success at Florence, and then at Rome, where Reuchlin heard him lecture on

[1] *Bessarionis Opera omnia* in Migne's *Patrol. Græca*, Tom. CLXI. See the literature in Voigt, II., 125, who mentions also Wolfgang von Goethe, *Studien und Forschungen über das Leben und die Zeit des Cardinals Bessarion*, 1871. Add Henri Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion, étude sur la chrétienté et la renaissance vers le milieu du 15 siècle*, Paris, 1878.

Thucydides. He died about 1486, from excess in eating watermelons.

II.—The Greeks of the second emigration:

John Andronicus Callistus taught Greek at Bologna in 1454, then at Rome in 1469, under the patronage of Bessarion, and took part in the disputes between the Platonists and Aristotelians; afterwards he removed to Florence and last to France, in the hope of better wages. He is said to have read all the Greek authors, and imported six chests of manuscripts from Greece, but he produced nothing of importance.

Constantine Lascaris, who belonged to a family of the highest rank in the Eastern empire, found a refuge at Milan. He gave instruction in the Greek language to Ippolita, the daughter of Francis Sforza, who married Alfonso, the son of King Ferdinand I. of Naples. He composed a Greek grammar for her, the first book printed in Greek. He moved, in 1470, to Messina, where he established a flourishing school, and died near the close of the century. Cardinal Bembo, of Venice, was one of his pupils.

His son, John or Janus Lascaris (1445–1535), emigrated with him, studied at Padua, was employed by Lorenzo de' Medici to collect manuscripts in Greece, and superintended Greek printing in Florence. He accompanied Charles VIII. to France, and was sent by him as ambassador to his allies in Italy. In 1513 he was called by Leo X. to Rome, and opened there a Greek and Latin school. In 1518 he returned to France and collected a library for Francis I. at Fontainebleau. He was a man of affairs, but wrote little.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF HUMANISM.—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS.

Muratori, III., Pars II., 970 *sqq.* Platina: *Vita Pii II.*, in his "*Vitæ Pontif. Rom.*"

G. Voigt: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius II., und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1856–'63, 3 vols. Pastor, *l. c.*, II., 3–261, gives only his life as pope, and ignores his previous career. K. Hase: *Æneas Silvius Piccolomini*, in his "*Rosenvorlesungen kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*," Leipzig, 1880, pp. 56 *sqq.* Milman: *History of Latin Christianity*, Book XIII., chap. 76. Creighton: *History of the Papacy*, II. (1882), pp. 365 *sqq.* Zoepffel in Herzog, 2d ed., Vol. XII., 1–19 (with a full list of literature).

The second period of humanism embraces the pontificates from Nicolas V. (1455) to Leo X. (1521). Calixtus III. and Paul II. were hostile, Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. indifferent, Pius II., Sixtus IV., Julius II., and Leo X. decidedly favorable, to the new learning. Pius II. was at the same time himself one of the most eminent scholars and fruitful writers before he became pope.

Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini (Æneas Sylvius) was born in 1405—the eldest of eighteen children,—from a noble, but impoverished family of Siena and imbibed the spirit of humanism from his teacher, Filelfo, at Florence.

His earlier life was that of an adventurer, a time-serving politician, a skilful diplomatist, a man of the world, and a brilliant but frivolous writer. He travelled extensively, served several masters, and was used in embassies by the emperor and the pope. He spent several years in Switzerland and Germany, and visited also England and Scotland. He attended the reformatory Council of Basel as clerk, and advocated its interests against the papal party, but afterwards changed his views and was rewarded with the bishopric

of Trieste (1447), a year after his ordination. In 1449 he became Bishop of Siena, in 1456 a cardinal, and in 1458 pope, assuming the name of Pius II. (with reference to the words of Virgil: "*Sum pius Æneas*"). During his pontificate of six years he labored to strengthen the papal power, in which he succeeded, and to rouse Europe against the Turks, in which he failed. He recanted, in the bull "*Execrabilis*," his former liberal principles, and condemned his writings, comparing himself to Saul, who had ignorantly persecuted the Church of God and the Holy See. He lived in great simplicity, was liberal to the poor, forgiving to his enemies, and loved the solitude of the country and quiet study. He died after a journey to Ancona, where he hoped to lead an expedition against the Sultan. "The warning hand of time," says Voigt, "wrought in him a kind of moral revolution which, however, did not express itself in religious depth—for this was always foreign to his nature,—nor in too sour morals, at which his friends would have laughed. He had luckily got rid of priestly ordination until an age of life when the sensual appetites needed not to be resisted, but were losing vitality and vigor."

Æneas Sylvius was a voluminous writer. In his youth he composed several thousand lines of Latin epigrams, elegies, odes, lascivious love-poems, novels, and comedies, which have perished. His comedy, *Chrisis*, in the style of Terence, moves among women of ill-repute, and is equal to the most lascivious productions of the humanists.[1] He wrote eloquent orations which fill three volumes, and over five hundred letters still extant. He defended the claims of a general council and its superiority over the papacy in his book *De Basileensi Concilio*, in his dialogues on the authority of Councils, and in a letter to the Emperor Frederick III. His most important works are historical and geographical, a history of Bohemia, a history of Frederick III., and a cos-

[1] It is preserved in a manuscript at Prague, which Voigt has inspected. He says that this comedy "*spielt unter Dirnen, Dirnenjägern und Kupplerinnen und überbietet weit an Unflath alle Leistungen seiner Vorgänger.*" *Wiederherstellung des class. Alterth.*, II., 413 (*Enea Silvio*, II., 269).

mography, in which he gave the observations made during his extensive travels.

When he became pope, he disappointed the humanists, who expected great favors. He was satisfied with his own reputation as an author, and did not need their assistance by patronizing them.[1] He increased, however, the number of abbreviators or writers of briefs. His old teacher, Filelfo, forced out of him a pension of two hundred ducats, but was refused further favors, for which he took cruel revenge by slandering his character. The pope preferred to bestow his bounties on an army of relations and friends from Siena, and spotted his reputation by a species of nepotism in which he was preceded by Calixtus III., and followed by many other popes.

He continued, however, his literary labors, wrote orations, pompous briefs, autobiographal memoirs, and commentaries on his reign.

Platina, who knew him personally, quotes a number of his wise and witty sentences, among which are the following:

"Without virtue there is no true joy.—Common men should value learning as silver, noblemen as gold, princes as jewels.—Good physicians do not seek the money but the health of the sick.—Great controversies are decided by the sword, and not by the laws.—A citizen should look upon his family as subject to the city, the city to his country, his country to the world, and the world to God.—The chief place with kings is slippery.—As all rivers run into the sea, so do all vices into courts.—Flatterers draw kings whither they please.—Kings hearken to none more readily than to sycophants.—The tongue of a flatterer is a king's greatest plague.—Men ought to be presented to dignities, and not dignities to men.—Some men had offices and did not deserve them; whilst others deserved them and had them not.—The burthen of a pope is heavy, but he was happy who bore it stoutly.—An illiterate bishop is like an ass.—Poor physicians kill the body, and ignorant priests the

[1] Voigt says (II., 237): "*Er war selbst ein zu grosser Schriftsteller, um ein rechter Mäcen zu sein.*"

soul.—A wandering monk is the devil's bond-slave.—Virtue enriched the clergy, but vice made them poor.—There was great reason for the prohibiting of priests to marry, but greater for allowing it again.[1]—No treasure is preferable to a faithful friend.—The use of wine has augmented the cares and the distempers of mankind."

[1] This famous testimony against clerical celibacy was suggested by his own former experience, but was disregarded by his successors who preferred hierarchical power to clerical purity.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LAST POPES OF THE RENAISSANCE: PAUL II. AND PLATINA, SIXTUS IV., JULIUS II., AND LEO X.

Under Paul II. (1464–1471) the humanists had hard times. He changed all the officials and dismissed several abbreviators, among them Platina (1421–1481), one of the most learned men of his age, who disputed this right of the pope and threatened to appeal to the decision of the Rota and the princes of Europe. The pope put him in chains for treason, and brought him to unconditional surrender. Platina declared that the pope had a right and was in duty bound to restrain and reprove the license of scholars, and promised hereafter to devote his strength to the promotion of the welfare of the Church. He was restored to favor by Sixtus IV., and made head-librarian of the Vatican at a salary of one hundred and twenty ducats a year, with three sub-librarians, who received only twelve ducats each, and were mere servants, though all of them learned men.

Platina wrote, in elegant Latin, a valuable series of biographies of the popes from the Apostle Peter to the death of Paul II. (68–1471), at the request of Sixtus (published at Venice in 1479). He used freely the writings of his predecessors, but for the pontificates of Eugene IV., Nicolas V., Calixtus III., Pius II., and Paul II., he could draw on his own observation and experience. In his treatment of Paul II., he gives vent to personal hatred, but, upon the whole, he is impartial.[1]

[1] *De Vitis ac Gestis summorum Pontificum ad Sixtum IV. deductum.* An English translation was published in 1685, and republished by Rev. W. Bendham, London (n. d.). Platina wrote also a *Historia urbis Mantuæ*, from the origin of the town to 1464. It is very rare. On his quarrel with the Pope, see Voigt and Geiger (149 *sqq.*).

Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) figures more prominently in the political history of Italy than in the Renaissance, but he increased the Vatican Library and Archives, transferred them to four new and beautiful halls, and appointed regular librarians (first Bussi, then Platina), with clerks and copyists. He had more passion for architecture than for literature. He built the Sistine Chapel, which afterwards acquired such celebrity from the frescoes of Michel Angelo, a great hospital, and other edifices of the city. He is the chief founder of the disgraceful system of papal nepotism.

Innocent VIII. (1484–1492) and Alexander VI. (1492–1503) did nothing for letters or arts. Alexander and the Borgia family represent a renaissance of crime, which they practised as an art, with diabolical ability and energy. During their reign Florence took the place of Rome as a home of letters.

Julius II. (1503–1513), a nephew of Sixtus IV., and Leo X. (1513–1521), a grandson of Lorenzo de' Medici, were not scholars themselves, like Pius II., but liberal patrons of architects, sculptors, and painters. Julius II. would rather be painted with a sword than a book in hand, as he said to Michel Angelo, but he admired splendid buildings and monuments. These two popes had the good sense and fortune to avail themselves of the greatest artistic geniuses of their age, who represent the culmination of the Renaissance. Raphael immortalized their faces by several portraits, preserved in the galleries of Rome and Florence, which reflect not only the outward appearance but the inner life and character of these popes.

The successors of Leo were absorbed in efforts to counteract the Protestant Reformation. The barbarous sack of Rome in 1527 by the imperial troops was disastrous to literature and art, and deeply deplored by Melanchthon, who, nobly rising above sectarian controversy, said to his students at Wittenberg, when he heard of the savage outrages committed by the Spanish and German soldiers: "Why should we not lament the fall of Rome, which is the common mother-city of all nations? I, indeed, feel this calamity no

less than if it were my own native place. The robber hordes were not restrained by considerations of the dignity of the city, nor the remembrance of her services for the laws, sciences, and arts of the world. This is what we grieve over. Whatever be the sins of the pope, Rome should not be made to suffer."

CHAPTER XIV.

LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT (1449–1492).

Lorenzo il Magnifico: *Opere*, Firenze, 1825, 4 vols.; his *Poesie*, ed. by Carducci, Firenze, 1859. Biographies by Fabroni (Pisa, 1784, 2 vols.), Roscoe (London, 1795, 10th ed. 1851, and several translations), A. von Reumont (Leipzig, 1874, 2 vols.), B. Buser (Leipzig, 1879). Albert Castelnau: *Les Medicis*, Paris, 1879, 2 vols.

Lorenzo de' Medici, called *il Magnifico*, was the most liberal patron of literature in the second half of the fifteenth century. He was a worthy grandson of Cosimo, and ruled Florence till his death. He was well educated in Latin and Greek by Landino, Argyropulus, and Marsilio Ficino, a poet of no mean talent, an admirer of Plato, and a Mæcenas of scholars and artists. His family life was reputable. He esteemed and loved his wife, though the marriage was one of convenience, and he liked to play with his children. He triumphed over the conspiracy of the Pazzi, who were in league with Pope Sixtus IV. He encouraged scholars and artists, among them Michel Angelo. But he was a bad manager, neglected the finances, and brought himself and the republic to the brink of bankruptcy in 1490. He married his daughter to the oldest illegitimate son of Pope Innocent VIII., and induced him to make his youngest son, Giovanni, a cardinal, though he was only thirteen. This boy became pope, as Leo X., and did his best to revive the fortunes of his family at the expense of the Church.

Savonarola, the severe preacher of moral reform, regarded Lorenzo as an elegant worldling and enemy of the liberties of Florence. When called to his death-bed, he asked him whether he adhered to the true faith, whether he was willing

to return stolen property to the rightful owners and to lead a virtuous life, and whether he would restore the republic to its old state of freedom. Lorenzo assented to the first two questions, but made no reply to the third, and hence was refused absolution. This is the report of Count Pico, the first biographer of Savonarola, but it is contradicted by Poliziano, who knew Lorenzo intimately, and reports that Lorenzo asked and received the priestly blessing from Savonarola.[1]

In less than three years after Lorenzo's death, Charles VIII. of France entered Florence, and made an end to the rule of the Medici for eighteen years, when they acquired a second supremacy, which soon became a hereditary monarchy and lasted two centures (1537–1737).

[1] Villari (*Savonarola*, I., 136 and 154 *sqq.*) accepts the report of Pico and Burlamachi, but von Ranke and von Reumont (II., 417 and 442 *sqq.*) follow Poliziano.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PLATONIC ACADEMY IN FLORENCE.

Fr. Schultze: *Geschichte der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Jena, 1874. The first volume treats of Plethon. Comp. the corresponding sections in the Histories of Philosophy, by Ritter, Erdmann, Ueberweg, etc.

The Platonic Academy was founded about 1469 by Cosimo de' Medici, patronized by Lorenzo, and embraced among its members the principal men of Florence and some strangers. It celebrated the birthday of Plato (November 13th) with a banquet and a discussion of his writings. It suffered an eclipse by the death of Lorenzo, Politian, and Picus, and the disasters which fell on the children of Lorenzo. It revived and diffused the knowledge of the sublime truths of Platonism, and then gave way to other academies in Florence of a more literary and social character.

A controversy broke out between the Greeks of Italy on the merits of Plato and Aristotle. Theodore of Gaza opened on the side of Aristotle. Cardinal Bessarion replied with moderation. Next, George of Trebisond poured abuse on the Platonic philosophy and vented his spite against Bessarion, who replied in 1469.

Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1526), a popular teacher of the Aristotelian philosophy at Padua and Bologna, roused alarm by asserting that the immortality of the soul was not taught by Aristotle, and could not be proved by reason, but rested on the authority of the Church, which was sufficient. He thus made a distinction between philosophical truth and theological truth.[1]

His book was sent to Bembo, the secretary of Leo X., and shielded from censure. But the fifth Lateran Council in 1512 (sess. 8) rejected that distinction as heretical.

[1] *Pomponatii liber de immortalitate animæ.* Bonon., 1516.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARSILIO FICINO (1433–1499).

The court of scholars by which Lorenzo the Magnificent was surrounded, and which adorned the Platonic Academy, embraced Poliziano or Politian (1454–1494), a brilliant professor of Greek and Latin eloquence in the university and one of the most gifted humanists; Luigi Pulci (1432–1484), a poet and freethinker; Christoforo Landino (1434–1504), a commentator on Dante; Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499); and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494). The last two represent the renaissance of Platonic philosophy and exerted most influence on the progress of thought in that age.

Marsilio Ficino or Ficinus, the son of Cosimo's physician, was carefully educated by Cosimo de' Medici, and destined while yet a boy of six years to become a Platonic philosopher and follower of Plethon. He called Cosimo his second father to whom he owed the new birth. He was an ordained priest, rector of two churches, and canon of the cathedral of Florence, and eloquently preached the Platonic gospel to his "brethren in Plato." He translated the Orphic hymns, the Hermes Trismegistos, and some works of Plato and Plotinos,—a colossal task for that age. He believed that the divine Plotinos had first revealed the theology of the divine Plato and "the mysteries of the ancients," and that these were consistent with Christianity. Yet he could not find in Plato's writings the mystery of the Trinity.

He shared the general belief in astrology, and laid great stress on prophetic dreams. He wrote a defence of the Christian religion, which he regarded as the only true religion,[1] and a work on the immortality of the soul, which he

[1] *De Religione Christiana*, in thirty-eight chapters.

proved with fifteen arguments against the Aristotelians.[1] He was an industrious student, fond of music and good company, but small, sickly, and kept poor by dishonest servants and avaricious relations.

[1] *Theologia Platonica de immortalitate animarum*, in 18 books. See *Marsili. Ficini Florentini insignis Philosophi Platonici Opera.* Basel, 1561, 2 vols., fol.

CHAPTER XVII.

PICUS OF MIRANDOLA (1463–1494).

The *Theses* of Pico de Mir. were printed at Rome 1486, and at Cologne 1619; his *Opera*, at Bologna, 1496, together with the works of his nephew, John Francis Pico, Basel, 1572, and 1601.

George Dreydorff: *Das System des Joh. Pico von Mirandola und Concordia.* Marburg, 1858. Geiger, 204 *sqq.*—*Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. His Life, by his nephew, Giovanni Francesco Pico.* Transl. from the Latin by Sir Thomas More (1510). Edited, with an Introd. and Notes, by J. M. Rigg. London (In "The Tudor Library," David Nutt), 1890.

Giovanni Pico, count of Mirandola, in the Modenese territory, studied canon law, theology, philosophy, and the humanities in Ferrara; he learned also Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic.[1] He was a precocious genius, but cut down before he reached the prime of manhood. He came to Rome in his twenty-third year and published nine hundred theses on miscellaneous topics, in which he anticipated some Protestant views, such as that no image or cross should be adored, that the words "This is my body" must be understood symbolically (*significative*), not materially. He also maintained that the science of Magic and the Cabbala confirms the doctrine of the trinity and the deity of Christ. These opinions roused suspicion, and thirteen of his theses were condemned by Innocent VIII. as heretical; but as Pico submitted his judgment to that of the Church he was acquitted of heresy, and Alexander VI. cleared him of all new charges.

[1] "Among all those who busied themselves with Hebrew in the fifteenth century, no one was of more importance than Pico della Mirandola. He was not satisfied with a knowledge of the Hebrew grammar and Scriptures, but penetrated into the Jewish Cabbalah, and even made himself familiar with the literature of the Talmud. That such pursuits, though they may not have gone very far, were at all possible to him, he owed to his Jewish teachers." —Burckhardt, 3d ed., pp. 198 *sq.*

Pico was a man of rare endowments and erudition, and a sincere Christian of ascetic tendencies. He was admired as a miracle of erudition and wisdom. In the last years of his short life he devoted himself to the study of the Bible, and intended to preach Christ throughout the world. He is described by his nephew as "a handsome young man, tall, elastic, with brown hair, deep blue eyes, shining white teeth, showing in his whole personality a mixture of angelic gentleness, modest chastity, and refreshing benevolence, which delighted the eye and attracted the heart." Savonarola blamed him for not becoming a full monk, and thought he went to purgatory.

His philosophy was a combination of Platonism and Aristotelianism. He found the same system in the Cabbala and the Bible, which was a mistake.

He had, of all humanists, the loftiest conception of the dignity and destiny of man. He appreciated the truth and science of all ages and nations, as well as that of classical antiquity, and found the highest truth in the Christian religion. He is the author of the famous sentence: *Philosophia veritatem quærit, theologia invenit, religio possidet.*

His principal writings are: *De Ente et Uno*, his *Heptaplus* (a commentary on the Mosaic account of the creation, from which he derived all the wisdom of the world by means of the *sevenfold* meaning of the words of the Bible), a treatise on astrology, which he opposed as a dangerous error, and an oration on the dignity of man (*De dignitate hominis*). In the last he maintained that God placed man in the midst of the world that he might the more easily study all that therein is, and endowed him with free will, by which he might degenerate to a beast or rise to a godlike existence. Man alone is capable of indefinite development and growth, and bears in him the germs of a universal and eternal life.

Pico bequeathed his estates of Mirandola and Concordia to his nephew, and his property to the poor.

Pico had a decided influence on John Reuchlin, who saw him in 1490, and was persuaded by him of the immense wisdom hid in the Cabbala. He was also greatly admired

by Zwingli, who adopted some of his philosophical views and incorporated them in his "Commentary on the True and False Religion," and his tract on "Providence."

His nephew, John Francis (Gianfrancesco) of Mirandola, was a friend and the first biographer of Savonarola (1503).

[1] Comp. Ch. Siegwart, *Ulrich Zwingli: der Charakter seiner Theologie mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Picus von Mirandola* (1855). Siegwart maintains that Zwingli's doctrine of God in the first chapter of his tract, *De Providentia*, is in part literally borrowed from Pico's tract, *De Ente et Uno*, and that the fourth chapter is an abridged reproduction of the *Oratio de hominis dignitate*. We may add that Zwingli may have derived his figurative view of the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper from the same source. But Mörikofer, *Ulrich Zwingli*, II., 508 *sq.*, vindicates the originality of Zwingli.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BEMBO AND SADOLETO.

Bembo : *Opere* (Lat. and Ital.), Venice, 1729, 4 vols., fol. Ersch and Gruber, VIII., 471. Wetzer and Welte, II., 296 (revised edition).

Sadoletus : *Opera omnia*, Moguntiæ, 1607 ; Verona, 1737, 4 vols.—Fiordibello : *De Vita Jac. Sadoleti.*

Tiraboschi : VII., 300 *sqq.*

The last distinguished humanists who already reach into the period of the Reformation, are Bembo and Sadoleto.

Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), descended from a patrician family of Venice, was made by Leo X. one of his private secretaries, at an annual salary of three thousand scudi. After the death of Leo, he resided in Padua and derived a large income from his rich benefices. He expressed great surprise at the niggardliness of the German princes when he heard that such a scholar as Melanchthon received a contemptible salary of two or three hundred guilders in Wittenberg. He had a large collection of books, manuscripts, medals, and antiques. He was appointed historiographer of his native city, 1529, and librarian of St. Mark's.

Being created a cardinal by Paul III. in 1539, he removed again to Rome. There he died in 1547, and was buried in the choir of the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

Bembo was an accomplished and amiable man of the world, like his master, Leo X. In his earlier years he had several love adventures, and lived for twenty-two years in open concubinage with the beautiful Morosina of Venice, who bore him two sons and a daughter. He lamented her death in Latin elegies. He was a friend and admirer of Lucrezia Borgia (the daughter of the ill-famed Alexander

VI.), Duchess of Ferrara, and dedicated to her his dialogues on love (*gli Asolani*), in which love is first praised as the source of the highest human happiness, then condemned as the source of human misery, and last represented as a stepping-stone to divine love and its blessings. In later life he devoted himself to sacred studies and led a serious life.[1]

Bembo was a most elegant Latinist, the *beau ideal* of a purist, in poetry and prose, but a slavish imitator of Cicero and Petrarca, without productive genius. His highest aim was classical correctness of style. He would have adorned the age of Augustus. He wrote a history of Venice from 1487 to 1513, dialogues, poems, and essays.

Giacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547) was born at Modena, educated at Ferrara and Rome, and acquired fame for his finished Latin style in poetry and prose. His poem on the newly discovered Laocoön group was enthusiastically received. Leo X. made him his secretary, and in 1517 Bishop of Carpentras in the papal dominion of Avignon; Clement VII. called him back to Rome; Paul III. created him a cardinal (1536).

Sadoleto combined humanistic culture with enlightened Catholic churchmanship, and forms the connecting link between humanism and the Roman counter-Reformation. In his early life he wrote love poetry on Imperia, a famous courtesan of Rome; but as bishop he led an exemplary life, and in his conflict with Protestants he showed tolerance and amiability as well as diplomatic adroitness. His object was to win them back by gentle persuasion. He addressed an appeal to the Genevese during Calvin's absence in Strassburg, but Calvin defeated the attempt to alienate his flock (1539). One of his chief works is a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which was written in defence of the Roman Catholic view of justification, but did not altogether satisfy his own friends. In his "*Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia*" (1538), he admitted many abuses and proposed a reformation of the Church which he vainly hoped from the

[1] "*Er widmete seine Jugend der Liebe, die Zeit seiner männlichen Kraft den Musen, und sein Alter der Religion.*"—Geiger, p. 224.

pope. Altogether he is one of the noblest characters of the Roman Church in his age.

The papal counter-Reformation which arose towards the middle of the sixteenth century, sounded the death-knell of humanism, by charging it with immorality and irreligion. Giordano Bruno, one of the last representatives of the philosophical Renaissance, was condemned as a heretic by the Roman Inquisition and burned on the Campo de' Fiori in 1600, but his admirers erected a statue to him on the same spot in 1889 to the great annoyance of Pope Leo XIII.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FINE ARTS.

"*Hæc est Italia diis sacra.*"—Plinius.

Giorgio Vasari (a painter and pupil of Michel Angelo, 1511–1574): *Le Vite dei più celebri Pittori, Scultori e Architetti*, 1550; best edition by Gaetano Milanesi, with notes and comments, Firenze, 1878–'85, 9 vols. Small ed., Firenze, 1889. English translation by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, London, 1850–'52; new ed. 1878, 5 vols. in Bohn's "Standard Library." Vasari is the basis of most works in this department.

Benvenuto Cellini (goldsmith and sculptor at Florence, 1500–'70): *Vita scritta da lui medesino*, Firenze, often printed and translated. An autobiography which gives a lively picture of the life of an Italian artist of that period. German translation by Goethe; English translation by Roscoe, and another by Symonds (London and New York, 1890).

Abate Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810): *The History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the 18th Century.* Transl. from the Italian by Thomas Roscoe. London, 1852 (in Bohn's Library), 3 vols.

Fr. Th. Kugler (1808–1858): *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1841–'42, 5th ed. 1872; also his *Geschichte der Malerei*, 1837, 3d ed., 1867, 2 vols.; and *Geschichte der Baukunst*, 1855–'73, continued by Burckhardt and Lübke, 5 vols. The Italian part of his History of Painting was translated by Lady Eastlake, with notes by Sir Charles L. Eastlake · the other schools were ed. by Sir E. W. Head, 4th ed., London, 1874.

Wilh. Lübke: *Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 10th ed., 1887; (fully illustrated Engl. trans. from the 7th ed. by Clarence Cook, New York, 1878, in 2 vols.); *Gesch. der Renaissance in Frankreich*, 2d ed., 1885; *Gesch. der deutschen Renaissance*, 2d ed., 1882; *Raffael's Leben und Werke*, 1882; and other works.

J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle: *A New History of Painting in North Italy from the 2d to the 15th Century from new materials and recent researches in Italy and elsewhere.* London, 1864–'67. By the same: *The Life and Times of Titian.* London, 2d ed., 1881, 2 vols. (dedicated to the then Crown Prince of Germany and Prussia, afterwards Emperor Frederic III.).

Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake: *The History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art.* London, 3d ed., 1872, 2 vols. Mrs. Jameson: *Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts.* London, 5th ed., 1872. By the same: *Sacred and Legendary Art.* London, 7th ed., 1874, 2 vols. By the

same: *Legends of the Monastic Orders as expressed in the Fine Arts.* London, 5th ed., 1872. All these works are richly illustrated by etchings and woodcuts.

H. Taine: *Lectures on Art* (in French, Paris, 1865 and 1866). First Series: *The Philosophy of Art.* Second Series: *Art in Italy*, etc. Tansl. by John Durand. N. York, 1875. Also Taine's *Italy, Rome, and Naples*, and *Italy, Florence, and Venice*, translated by Durand.

N. D'Anvers: *An Elementary History of Art—Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music.* London and New York (Scribner & Welford), 2d ed., 1882. With 183 illustrations.

A. Woltmann and K. Woermann: *History of Ancient, Early Christian, and Mediæval Painting.* Transl. from the German and ed. by Sidney Colvin. London and New York (Dodd, Mead, & Co.), 1880. Illustrated.

Jacob Burckhardt (Prof. in Basel): *Der Cicerone. Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens.* Fifth ed., by W. Bode. Leipzig, 1884, 3 vols. Part I. contains Antiquity; Part II., in 2 vols., the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance.

John D. Champlin and Charles C. Perkins: *Cyclopædia of Painters and Paintings.* New York (Charles Scribner's Sons), 1885–'87, 4 vols. With more than 2,000 illustrations. An alphabetical bibliography in Vol. I., XIX.–XXXVI., "of a kind hitherto unattempted." Bibliographic references to English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish works are also appended to the chief articles.

Eugène Müntz (conservateur de l'École nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris): *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance.* Paris (Hachette e C^ie^., 1889 *sqq.*, 5 vols. With numerous illustrations. The first three volumes are devoted to Italy, the fourth to France, the fifth to other countries. By the same: *Les Arts à la cour des papes pendant le XV^e^ et le XVI^e^ siècle.* Paris, 1878–'79.

(A convenient *Hand-book* on *Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and their Works*, with illustrations and monograms, by Clara Erskine Clement. Cambridge and New York, 1873, 2d ed. 1875, pp. 661.)

The renaissance of classical learning was accompanied and followed by a renaissance of classical art. The former revealed the strength of the human mind, the latter the beauty of the human body illuminated by the soul. What the age of Nicolas V. was for the discovery of manuscripts the age of Julius II. was for the discovery of statues of antiquity. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the unsurpassed masterpieces of Greek sculpture—such as the Laocoön group, the Apollo of the Belvedere, the torso of Hercules, all in the Belvedere of the Vatican Museum—were dug from the dust, and revealed the Greek ideals of human beauty. It was a revelation indeed, and kindled an enthusiasm for similar achievements.

Then began those excavations and those robberies of temples, palaces, and baths, in and around Rome, which enriched the priceless collections in the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Capitoline museums of that city. The extensive villa of the Emperor Hadrian, which covers some miles below Tivoli, and embraced a theatre, lyceum, temple, basilica, library, race-course, etc., furnished alone immense treasures of art.

It was a remarkable coincidence that at the same time arose the greatest geniuses of Italian architecture, sculpture, and painting, who fully equalled those of ancient Greece and produced creations of beauty which are still and will ever be the admiration of the world.

The revival of art, like that of poetry, originated in Florence, which is justly called Firenze la bella, the City of Flowers, and the Flower of Cities, "the brightest star of star-bright Italy." [1] She gave birth to an unusual number of geniuses, such as Dante and Giotto, Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo, Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, and possesses more treasures of art and greater reminiscences of history than any other city except Rome. There lived and labored the architects, painters, and sculptors of the earlier Renaissance.

From Florence art wandered to Rome, and from there it spread over all Italy. Giotto was called to Rome by Boniface VIII., Fra Giovanni by Nicolas V., Bramante, Michel Angelo, and Raphael by Julius II.

We may distinguish two periods in the revival of art, as in that of letters. The first had its centre in Florence under the Medici, the second in Rome under Julius II. and Leo X. The first period extends from about 1300 to 1500, the second from 1500 to 1550. The Early Renaissance represents art on the road to perfection, the High Renaissance upon the

[1] "Of all the fairest cities of the earth
None is so fair as Florence. 'T is a gem
Of purest ray ; and what a light broke forth,
When it emerged from darkness ! Search within,
Without ; all is enchantment ! 'T is the Past
Contending with the Present ; and in turn
Each has the mastery."—ROGERS.

pinnacle of perfection. Then followed the Later Renaissance, which was a period of decline and degeneracy.

The chief artists—painters, sculptors, and architects—of the Early Renaissance are Cimabue (1240–1302), "the father of modern painting"; Giotto (1276–1337), his greater pupil, the friend of Dante, and author of wonderful frescoes in Santa Croce, in the Chapel of the Bargello, and in Santa Maria Novella; Ghiberti (1376–1455), the designer of the bronze reliefs in the Baptistery of St. Giovanni in Florence which Michel Angelo pronounced "worthy to be the gates of Paradise"; Brunelleschi (1377–1444), the rearer of the dome of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence; Donatello (1383–1466), the sculptor, who subordinated ideal beauty to real nature; Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole (1387–1455), who painted saints and angels on his knees; Tomaso di San Giovanni, called Masaccio—*i.e.*, Slovenly Tom (1400–1443), the author of the frescoes in the chapel of St. Peter, in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, at Florence, which are remarkable for precision in drawing, softness, and harmony of coloring, and which almost approach the perfection of Raphael and Titian[1]; Bramante (1444–1514), one of the chief architects of St. Peter's; Perugino of Umbria (1446–1524), the teacher of Raphael.

The greatest artists of the High Renaissance are Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519); Fra Bartolommeo (1469–1517), the friend and admirer of Savonarola; Raphael or Raffaello Sanzio d' Urbino (1483–1520); Michel Angelo Buonarroti (1475–1564); Correggio (1493–1534); Giorgione (1478–1511); Titian (1477–1576)—all Italians. With them may be worthily associated Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), the engraver and painter of Nürnberg, whom Raphael admired as an extraordinary genius.

It is remarkable that these artists should have flourished

[1] Taine (*Lect. on Art, Second Series*, p. 11) calls Masaccio "an all but finished artist, a solitary originator who instinctively sees beyond his age, an unrecognized precursor who is without followers, whose sepulchre even bears no inscription, who lived poor and alone, and whose precocious greatness is to be comprehended only half a century later."

within the same generation, from about 1490 to 1520. Most of them stood in personal relations, yet each had his own individuality and cultivated it to the highest degree of perfection that has been reached so far. And what a variety of gifts were combined in Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo, who excelled alike as architects, sculptors, painters, and poets! The former was besides a chemist, engineer, musician, merchant, and profound thinker, and is, not unjustly, called, on his monument at Milan, "the restorer of the arts and sciences." His mural picture of the Last Supper in S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan (from the years 1495 to 1498), best known by the engraving of Raphael Morghen, in spite of its defaced and repainted condition, is a marvellous reproduction of one of the sublimest events, adapted to the monks seated around their refectory table (instead of the reclining posture on couches), and every head is a study.

Taine classes Michel Angelo, with Dante, Shakespeare, and Beethoven, among the four great men in the world of art and literature "who are exalted to such a degree above all others as to seem to belong to another race and to be possessed by the soul of a fallen deity, struggling irresistibly after a world disproportionate to our own, always suffering and combating, always toiling and tempestuous, devoting itself in solitude to erecting before men colossi as ungovernable, as vigorous, and as sadly sublime as its own insatiable and impotent desire."[1] And he calls Leonardo da Vinci "the precocious originator of all modern wonders and ideas, a subtle and universal genius, an isolated and insatiate investigator, who pushes his divinations beyond his own age until he sometimes reaches our own."[2]

[1] *Italy, Rome, and Naples* (N. York, 1877), p. 186.

[2] *Lectures on Art*, I., 16.—Lübke (*Hist. of Art*, II., 280 *sq.*) says: "Leonardo da Vinci was one of those rare beings in whom Nature loves to unite all conceivable human perfections,—strikingly handsome, and at the same time of a dignified presence, and of an almost incredible degree of bodily strength; while mentally he possessed such various endowments as are hardly ever united in a single person," etc.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE ART OF THE RENAISSANCE.

The golden age of Italian art preceded the Reformation, and synchronized with its earliest phase, but had no connection with it whatever. (The first great German painters, Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Kranach, make an exception.) Raphael was born only a few months before Luther and Zwingli, but died before he had reached mid-life, and before the burning of the pope's bull. Michel Angelo was older than the Reformers, and long outlived them; he finished the "Last Judgment," in the Sixtine Chapel, in 1541; he undertook, when already seventy years old, in 1546, when Luther died, the superintendence of St. Peter's, and created the model of the cupola.

But that greatest and most magnificent church of Christendom, "which stands alone of temples old or altars new," is both the shame and the glory of the papacy, for it was largely built from the proceeds of the sale of indulgences, which roused the moral indignation of the North and kindled the flame of the Reformation.

The art of the Renaissance blends the glorification of mediæval Catholicism with the charms of classical paganism, the history of the Bible with the mythology of Greece and Rome. The Catholic type of piety is shown in the preponderance of the pictures of the Madonna who carries the infant Saviour on her arms, as if she were the chief object of worship, though the real intention was to set forth the mystery of the incarnation. The earlier painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were more simple, chaste,

and devout than those of the sixteenth, who reached a higher distinction as artists. They are related to each other in point of spirituality as Dante is related to Boccaccio, and Beatrice to Fiammetta. The classical models perfected the form, but corrupted the morals. The holiest of the painters of the early Renaissance is Fra Beato Angelico da Fiesole, who produced his works as acts of worship and charity.[1]

There is an innocent association of Christianity with heathenism. In the Roman catacombs, Christ is represented as Apollo with the sheep on his shoulder, or as Orpheus charming the animals with the music of the gospel. The Sibyls, as unconscious prophets of heathenism, are placed side by side with the Hebrew prophets, by Michel Angelo, in the Sixtine Chapel, as David and the Sibyl are coupled in the judgment hymn of Thomas a Celano.

But now the immoralities of the Greek mythology were brought into rivalry with the biblical history and the Catholic mythology of saints and martyrs. Heavenly beauty and earthly sensuality meet side by side, and the latter often overshadows the former. The same illustrious painters "seem to take up one task or the other—the disrobed woman whom they called Venus, or the type of highest and tenderest womanhood in the mother of their Saviour—with equal readiness, but to achieve the former with far more satisfactory success."[2] The Italian picture-galleries which best

[1] Vasari says of Fra Giovanni that "he might have lived in the world with the utmost ease and comfort . . . but he chose, nevertheless, in the hope of ensuring the peace and quiet of his life and of promoting the salvation of his soul, to enter the order of the preaching friars [in 1407]; for although it is certain that we may serve God in all conditions, yet, to some, it appears that they can more effectually secure their salvation in the cloister than in the world; and this purpose is doubtless successful as regards a man of good and upright purpose; but the contrary as certainly happens to him who becomes a monk from less worthy motives, and who is sure to render himself truly miserable." Pope Nicolas V. offered him the bishopric of Florence, but Fra Giovanni declined it, and recommended Fra Antonio, who was most eminent for learning and piety, and was canonized by Adrian VI.

[2] Hawthorne, in his *Marble Faun* (or *Transformation*), which contains some choice descriptions of Rome and Roman art. See Vol. II., Ch. XII.

represent the Renaissance period, are mostly made up of Madonnas, Magdalens, Crucifixions, Noli-Me-Tangeres, Saint Sebastians, and other legendary saints, contrasted with Venuses, Ledas, and other mythological nudities. Titian's Magdalen (in the Pitti Gallery) exhibits in one person the voluptuous woman with exposed breasts and flowing locks, and the penitent saint looking up to heaven.

The first great painters of Germany, Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), Lucas Kranach (1472–1553), and Hans Holbein (1495–1543), are free from this heathen element, and show the influence of the Reformation which went back to Christianity pure and simple. German art was less beautiful, but more profound; less idolatrous, but more religious; less classical, but more spiritual than the more distinguished contemporary art of Italy.

The beautiful, the true, and the good are equally from God, and they are intended for each other, as a harmonious whole; but are often separated by the sin and weakness of man.

CHAPTER XXI.

RAPHAEL (1483–1520).

J. Passavant: *Raphael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi.* Leipzig, 1839–'56, 3 vols. (Improved French edition by Paul Lacroix, Paris, 1860.)—E. Förster: *Raphael.* Leipzig, 1867–'68, 2 vols.—Ruland: *The Works of Raphael,* London, 1876.—Anton Sprenger: *Raffael und Michelangelo. Mit Ilustrationen.* Leipzig, 1878, 4°; 2d ed., 1883, in 2 vols., 8°. It is a part of Robert Dohme: *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.*—W. Lübke: *Rafael's Leben und Werke.* Dresden, 1881.—E. Müntz: *Raphaël, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps.* Paris, 1881.—Crowe and Cavalcaselle: *Raphael, his Life and Works.* London, 1882 (German transl., Leipzig, 1883).—Minghetti: *Raffaello.* German ed., Breslau, 1887.—Herman Grimm: *Das Leben Raphaels,* 2d ed., Berlin, 1886.

Vasari begins his *Vita di Raffaello da Urbino* with a reverent recognition of the sovereign bounty of Providence which "sometimes is pleased to accumulate the infinite riches of its treasures on the head of one sole favorite, showering on him all those rare gifts and graces which are more commonly distributed among a larger number of individuals and accorded at long intervals of time only."

This truth is strikingly illustrated in the works both of Raphael and Michel Angelo. They stand out in the history of the Renaissance, so rich in genius of the first order, as the highest peaks, the one unsurpassed for grace and loveliness, the other for majesty and force. Michel Angelo exhibits the stern severity of the Old Testament, Raphael, the sweetness of the New. "The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." They labored in close proximity in the Vatican, Raphael in the Stanze and Loggie, Michel Angelo in the Sixtine Chapel. Their pupils quarrelled among themselves, and depreciated the rival of their master;

but the masters rose above the jealousy of small minds. They form a noble pair, like Schiller and Goethe among modern poets.

Raphael has been called the Shakespeare among painters for the variety of characters in which his own is lost. His Disputa and School of Athens are a history of theology and philosophy as embodied in their leading representatives, and each head is a distinct individuality. He resembles also Mozart in the precocity of his genius, the shortness of his life, and the number, sweetness, harmony, and perennial charm of his productions. Goethe, in describing the picture of St. Cecilia in Bologna, says that Raphael's predecessors have erected the pyramid, but that he put the last stone on the top, and that no other can stand above or beside him.

His brief life of thirty-seven years was one continued study of preparation and execution, and gave to the world over twelve hundred pictures and drawings, which are scattered all over the civilized globe. Among these there is not one indifferent piece, while many are such master-works as never have been, and probably never will be, surpassed. His Madonna di San Sisto is the perfection of Madonna pictures: his Transfiguration is the perfection of pictures of Christ. They are the highest triumphs of Christian art.

We know little of the private life of Raphael. "He lived, he loved, he worked, he died young."[1] He was an amiable and lovely character, free from envy and jealousy, modest, magnanimous, patient of criticism, as anxious to learn as to teach, always ready to assist poor artists, in one word, a perfect gentleman.[2] He seemed to have descended from a higher world. Vasari says that he combined so many rare gifts that he might be called a mortal god rather than simply a man. His mind lived in a perpetual springtide. He was all beauty inside and outside. His beautiful soul shone from his countenance. The portraits, which present him as an infant,

[1] "*Seine Geschichte ist in den vier Begriffen enthalten: leben, lieben, arbeiten und jung sterben.*"—Grimm, p. 87.

[2] Vasari calls him *la gentilezza stessa*, which Grimm translates in half-English: "*durch und durch ein Gentleman.*"

youth, and man, are as characteristic and impressive as Giotto's Dante, and Guido Reni's Beatrice Cenci: once seen, they can never be forgotten. Such purity, delicacy, and sweetness seem to be angelic rather than human.

> "His heavenly face the mirror of his mind,
> His mind a temple for all lovely things
> To flock to, and inhabit."

Raphael was, like Goethe, singularly favored by fortune. He was free from the ordinary trials of artists—poverty, humiliation, and neglect. He lived like a prince in a palace near the Vatican and had a villa outside of the Porta del Popolo. When he went to the Vatican he was surrounded by a host of admirers. He was papal chamberlain and had the choice between a cardinal's hat and the marriage of a niece of Cardinal Bibbiena, with a dowry of three thousand gold crowns. But he put off the marriage from year to year, and preferred the dangerous freedom of single life.[1]

[1] Like other artists in a corrupt age, he deemed it no sin to keep a mistress. This is the only dark spot on his character. The fact rests on the contemporary testimony of his admirer, Vasari. He says (in his *Vita di Raffaello*, chapter 24) that Raphael was a "*persona molto amorosa e affezionata alle donne, e di continuo presto ai servigi loro*," and intimates (chapter 27) that sensual indulgence was the cause of his last sickness. When Raphael felt death approaching he "as a good Christian dismissed his beloved from his house (*come cristiano, mandò l'amata sua fuor di casa*), and made a decent provision for her support. . . . Then, after humbly confessing his sins, he finished the course of his life on the same day on which he was born, which was Good Friday, 37 years of age. His soul, we may believe, as it beautified the world with art, adorned heaven with itself. . . . O happy and blessed soul, everybody loves to speak of thee, praises thy achievements, and admires every one of thy drawings." The "Forarina," so-called, in the Barberini palace in Rome, bears Raphael's own name on the bracelet. We have from him four erotic sonnets which describe "the enchanting deception of love." Grimm gives them at the end of his *Raphael* (pp. 500 *sqq.*), and says of them in his work on Michelangelo (I., 367 *sq.*): "*Es steckt ein ganzer Roman darin. Alle vier haben denselben Inhalt: leidenschaftliche Erinnerung an das Glück, das in den Armen einer Frau gefunden ward, zu der die Rückkehr unmöglich ist. Die Resignation, die Sehnsucht die ihn erfüllt, die Wonne, mit der er dann wieder die Stunden sich zurückruft, als sie kam, tief in der Nacht, und sein war, sind in seine Verse hineingeflossen. . . . Kein einziges der Gedichte Michelangelo's enthält so glühende Leidenschaft. . . . Es ist von vielen Frauen die Rede, die Raphael liebte, aber von allen wird nichts weiter gesagt, als dass sie lebten, und dass sie seine Geliebte waren.*"

He visited Florence soon after the burning of Savonarola, learned from his friend Fra Bartolommeo to esteem him, and gave to this moral reformer, as well as to Dante, a place among the great teachers of the Church in his grand fresco of the Theologia in the Stanze of the Vatican.

His best works are devoted to religious characters and events. He painted the love adventures of Amor and Psyche in the Villa Farnesina with consummate skill, but also the history of the Bible in the Loggie of the Vatican. His numerous Madonnas—the Madonna di San Sisto at Dresden, the Madonna di Foligno in the Vatican, the Madonna della Sedia in the Pitti Gallery, the Belle Jardinière in Paris, etc.—represent an unique type of female beauty and loveliness which combines the purity of the virgin with the tenderness of the mother. Not one of them is a portrait. They perform no signs and wonders, but they elevate and edify men of taste and culture. They represent an ideal catholicism which worships the infant Saviour through the Virgin-Mother.[1]

The last, the greatest, and the purest work of Raphael is the Transfiguration. While engaged on it he died, on Good Friday, his birthday. It was suspended over his coffin and carried to the church of the Pantheon, where his remains repose in his chosen spot near those of his betrothed bride, Maria di Bibbiena. In that picture we behold the divinest figure that ever appeared on earth, soaring high in the air, with arms outspread, in garments of transparent light, adored by Moses on the right hand and by Elijah on the left, who represent the Old Covenant of law and promise. The three favorite disciples are lying on the ground unable to face the dazzling splendor from heaven. Beneath this celestial scene we see, in striking contrast, the epileptic boy with rolling eyes, distorted features, and spasmodic limbs, held by his agonized father and supported by his sister; while the mother appeals to the nine disciples with imploring look, as if to say: Ye must call down your Master,

[1] See Grimm's admirable description of Raphael's Madonnas, pp. 414 *sqq.*, and Gruyer, *Les vierges de Raphaël*, Paris, 1869, 3 vols.

the Healer of all diseases. In connecting the two scenes the painter followed the narrative of the Gospels (Matt. xvii.: 1–14; Mark ix.: 2–14; Luke ix.: 28–37). The connection is significant and repeated in Christian experience. Descending from the Mount of Transfiguration, we are confronted with the misery of earth, but prepared to lift it up to heaven. Goethe wondered that any one could doubt the unity of the picture: the upper and lower parts cannot be separated—beneath is suffering that craves for help, above is actual power and grace sufficient to heal all misery.

"Earth has no sorrow that heaven cannot heal."

CHAPTER XXII.

MICHEL ANGELO AND VITTORIA COLONNA.

I. Older biographies by his pupils, Vasari and of M. Angelo Condivi. G. Milanesi : *Lettere di M. Angelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875 (in celebration of the fourth centenary of his birth).—A. Gotti : *Vita di Michel Angelo*, Florence, 1875, 2 vols.—Hermann Grimm : *Leben Michelangelo's*, Berlin, 1860 ; 5th. ed. 1879, 2 vols. (The English translation by Fanny Eliz. Bunnet, London, 1865, reprinted in Boston, 12th ed., 1882, in 2 vols., was made from the second ed.) The fifth edition has superseded the earlier editions, as it is partly rewritten with the use of the papers of the Archivio Buonarroti at Florence, published by Milanesi.—Springer : *Raffael und Michelangelo*, 2d ed., 1883. For an estimate of his works, Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, 5th ed., 1884.

II. Vittoria Colonna (Marchesana di Pescara) : *Rime e Lettere*, first printed at Parma, 1538, then again and again ; best ed. by Pietro Ercole Visconti, Rome, 1840.—H. Roscoe : *Victoria Colonna, Her Life and Poems*, London, 1868, 2 vols.—Guisseppe Campori : *Vittoria Colonna*, Modena, 1876.—Ad. von Reumont : *Vittoria Colonna, vita, fede e poesia nel secolo decimosesto*, Torino, 1883 (also in German).—Ferrero e Müller : *Carteggio di Vittoria Col., Marchesa di Pescara*. Torino, 1889 (with bibliography, pp. xxviii.–xxxii.),—Ch. XIV. of Grimm's *Michelangelo*, II., 288–332. A German translation of her poems by Bertha Arndts, Schaffhausen, 1858, 2 vols.

Michel Angelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) was ten years older than Raphael, and survived him forty-four years. He drew the inspiration for his sculptures and pictures from the Old Testament, from Dante, and from Savonarola. He praised Dante in two sublime sonnets, and would have preferred that poet's exile and fame to the most fortunate lot. He heard Savonarola's thrilling sermons against wickedness and vice, and witnessed his martyrdom in the Piazza della Signoria on the 7th of April, 1498. His greatest works are the statues of Moses (in S. Pietro in Vincoli), of David (in Florence), the Pietà (in St. Peter's), the picture of the Last Judgment (in the Sixtine Chapel), and the cupola of St. Peter's,

"That vast and wondrous dome,
To which Diana's marvel was a cell,—
Christ's mighty shrine above his martyr's tomb."[1]

The Pietà, a marble group representing the Virgin Mary holding the crucified Saviour in her arms, raised him suddenly to the rank of the first sculptor of Italy. It excites the deepest emotions of sympathy with the grief of the mother, as does the *Stabat Mater* in poetry.[2]

His works have colossal proportions, and refuse to be judged by ordinary rules. His Moses (which was intended for a sepulchral monument of the warlike Pope Julius II., in St. Peter's), is a superhuman figure of commanding majesty and dignity, and looks like a mighty warrior ready to break the tables of the law in fierce indignation against the worship of the golden calf. His Last Judgment, on the altar wall of the Sixtine Chapel, reflects Dante's *Inferno*, and represents Christ as an angry Jupiter who thunders his curse on the wicked and sends them into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his servants. There is no trace in it of that mercy which shall say to the righteous on his right hand: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." It is indeed impossible for any artist to unite in one figure the impartial justice and infinite mercy of the Judge of mankind. But the former was the dominant conception of the Middle Ages, and underlies the inimitable *Dies iræ* of Thomas a Celano.[3]

[1] With these well-known lines of Byron may be coupled those of Schiller:

"*Und ein zweiter Himmel in den Himmel*
Steigt Sanct Peter's wundersamer Dom."

[2] Comp. Grimm's admirable description of the Pietà, I., 186 *sqq.*

[3] Mrs. Jameson (*The History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art*, II., 408), says: "Michael Angelo's conception of the Divine Judge may be considered the *ne plus ultra* of all that is most opposed to the Christian's idea, for even the dignity of a pagan deity is lost in the muscular vehemence of the figure." Grimm (II., 224) judges almost as severely. "*Unbeschreiblich befremdend ist der Anblick, den der Christus des jüngsten Gerichts bietet. . . . Doch, wenn ein jüngstes Gericht gemalt werden sollte mit ewiger Verdammniss, und Christus als der Richter, der sie ausspricht, wie konnte er anders erscheinen als in solcher Furchtbarkeit?*"

Michel Angelo carried a great soul in an unattractive body, and had, in consequence of an early injury, a disfigured nose. He lived in patriarchal simplicity, like a monk, solitary and alone, without wife or children. He called art his bride, and his works his children. Vasari and Condivi both bear witness to his spotless morality. He was not contaminated by contact with a licentious court. He deplored the corruptions of the papacy.

> "For Rome still slays and sells Christ at the court,
> Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase." [1]

At the age of sixty he found one woman, pure, proud, and noble as himself. She became to him almost as dear as Beatrice was to Dante, and Laura to Petrarca. That woman was Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547), the widow of the Marquis of Pescara. He met her in 1534, when she was forty-four years of age and living in retirement, half a nun, devoting her time to the memory of her husband, to literature, poetry, and religion. She had no children. She was the most gifted and cultivated lady of Italy, and the greatest Italian poetess. Her virtue and piety are preserved in her poems and letters, and shine with double lustre in contrast with the prevailing corruption in high society, clerical and secular.

She represents the best type of the Italian Renaissance in its approach to the spirit of the evangelical Reformation. She fell in with that semi-Protestant movement which began to show itself even in Rome towards the middle of the sixteenth century, but was soon suppressed by the papal counter-Reformation. She was intimate with cardinals Sadoleto, Contarini, Morone, Reginald Pole (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), the poet Flaminio, and others who sincerely desired religious reform within the Roman Church. She associated with the two most distinguished Italian converts to Protestantism, Pietro Martire Vermigli of Florence, a Calvinistic theologian, and Bernardino Ochino of Siena, the eloquent general of the Capuchins, who fled from the Inquisition to Switzerland (1542). She corresponded with like-

[1] See his sonnets *Signor, se vero è*, and *Qua si fa elmi*, translated by Symonds, in *The Fine Arts*, p. 516.

minded and highly accomplished ladies, as Giulia Gonzaga, the childless widow of the Duke Vespasian Colonna, who was praised by Ariosto for her beauty, as a goddess descended from heaven, Renata, Duchess of Ferrara, the friend of John Calvin (since 1536), and Margaret, Queen of Navarre, who protected Protestant refugees and was denounced as a heretic by the Sorbonne (1533).[1]

These cultivated men and women tasted the marrow of the gospel,—forgiveness of sin and peace of conscience through the all-sufficient grace of Christ; in other words, the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, which created such a commotion in the sixteenth century as never before or since. "*Omnia sunt possibilia credenti,*" wrote Vittoria to Michel Angelo, "only believe and the thing takes place."

About the year 1540, a remarkable little book on *The Benefit of Christ's Death*, was published in Venice and circulated in several editions and thousands of copies throughout Italy. It is an echo of Luther's writings on justification by faith, and sets forth in the language of Paul, clearly and forcibly the misery of man's sinfulness, the deliverance from the curse of the law by Christ, the nature and effect of faith, and the union of the soul with Christ.[2] This book was publicly

[1] Grimm says of Vittoria Colonna (II., 310): "*Sie stand mit an der Spitze der Partei, der die Zukunft zu gehören schien. Hätten ihre Freunde den Erfolg für sich gehabt, Vittoria's Name würde von noch grösserem Glanze heute umgeben sein. Sie, Renata von Ferrara und Margareta von Navarra, alle drei durch Freundschaft verbunden und in fortwährendem Verkehr, bildeten das Triumvirat von Frauen, unter dessen Anführung das ganze gebildete Italien damals in den Kampfging. Polo oder Contarini hätten nur, wozu sie beide Aussicht hatten, nach Paul's Tode zur höchsten Würde gelangen dürfen, und der Sieg wäre errungen gewesen.*"

[2] The following passages may serve as specimens: "O great unkindness! O thing abominable! that we, who profess ourselves Christians, and hear that the Son of God hath taken all our sins upon him, and washed them out with his precious blood, suffering himself to be fastened to the cross for our sakes, should nevertheless act as though we would justify ourselves, and purchase forgiveness of our sins by our own works; as if the deserts, righteousness, and bloodshed of Jesus Christ were not enough to do it, unless we came to add our works and righteousness; which are altogether defiled and spotted with self-love, self-liking, self-profit, and a thousand other vanities, for which we have need to crave pardon at God's hand, rather than reward. Neither do we think of the

burnt at Naples in 1553. It was formerly attributed to Aonio Paleario of Siena, but is now known to have proceeded from a pupil of the Spaniard Juan de Valdés, who resided in Rome and Naples. He translated the Greek Testament into Spanish, spread commentaries and evangelical tracts in Italy, and died in 1541. He was a twin brother of Alfonso de Valdés, who accompanied the Emperor Charles V. to the Diet of Worms, and the Diet of Augsburg, and died 1532.[1]

threatenings which St. Paul useth to the Galatians who, having been deceived by false preachers, believed not that the justification by faith was sufficient of itself, but went about still to be made righteous by the law. Unto whom St. Paul saith, 'Jesus Christ will profit you nothing that justify yourselves by the law; ye are fallen away from grace; for we through the Spirit by faith wait for the hope of righteousness." The writer, however, insists on the inseparable connection between faith and good works. "Now are we come to the end of our purpose, wherein our chief intent hath been (according to our small power) to magnify the wonderful benefit which the Christian man hath received by Jesus Christ crucified, and to show that faith of herself alone justifieth, that is to wit, that God receiveth and holdeth them for righteous who believe steadfastly that Christ hath made full amends for their sins; howbeit, that, as light cannot be separated from fire, which of itself burneth and devoureth all things, even so good works cannot be separated from faith, which alone by itself justifieth. And this holy doctrine (which exalteth Jesus Christ, and represseth, abateth the pride of man) hath been and always will be rejected, and fought against by such Christians as have Jewish minds. But happy is he who, following the example of St. Paul, spoileth himself of his own righteousness, and would have none other righteousness than that which is of Jesus Christ, wherewith if he be clothed and apparelled, he may most assuredly appear before God, and shall receive his blessing and the heritage of heaven and earth with his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be all honor, praise, and glory, from this time forth for evermore. Amen."

[1] Leopold von Ranke traced the tract in the Acts of the Inquisition to a monk of San Severino, in Naples, a pupil of Valdés. *Die römischen Päpste*, I., 91 *sq.* (8th ed.) Benrath discovered the name, Don Benedetto of Mantova. Flaminio of Imola, a friend of Valdés and Vermigli, gave the book its final shape. See Benrath in Brieger's "Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte," Leipzig, 1, 575–596 (1877); an article of Ed. Böhmer on Valdés in Herzog², XVI., 276–291, and his book *Spanish Reformers*, Strassburg and London (1874), Vol I., 63 *sqq.* Böhmer states that there are in the imperial library of Vienna two Italian copies (one of 1546, another without date) of the *Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Giesu Christo crocifisso, verso i Christiani.* The English edition, which was republished by the London Religious Tract Society, and by Gould and Lincoln in Boston (1860), was copied from a French version, 4th ed., London, 1638.

In 1542 the reaction began with the establishment of the Inquisition and the activity of the Order of the Jesuits, and in a few years crushed the Reformation in Italy except in the Italian portions of the Grisons.

Vittoria Colonna did not escape the suspicion of the Inquisition and the watchfulness of the spies of Caraffa. She had to submit to the power of the reaction, and retired to Viterbo, where she gathered a few friends around her, and kept up a correspondence with Michel Angelo. She delivered Ochino's letter and defence for his flight, which he sent to her as an old friend, to Rome, and declared that she would not write an answer unless commanded to do so. Twenty years after her death, a noble Florentine was condemned to the flames in Rome, because, among other crimes, he had belonged to her circle.

Michel Angelo concentrated upon this noble lady all the pent-up forces of his love, and exchanged with her letters and poems. She addressed him as the "unique master Michelangelo and most particular friend."[1] He admired her piety as much as her literary culture. He was himself not far from the spirit of evangelical religion; and had he lived in Germany he might have come as near to it as Albrecht Dürer.

The years of his friendship with Vittoria Colonna were the happiest of his life. His sonnets addressed to her burn with the fire of youth in old age. Her death in February, 1547, nearly upset his mind, as we learn from his pupil, Condivi. He stood at her bedside and kissed her hand. He regretted afterwards that he had not kissed her brow or cheek. He outlived her seventeen years.

His last work in marble was the unfinished Pietà, in the Duomo of Florence; his last design a picture of the Crucifixion. In his last poems he takes farewell of the fleeting pleasures of life, turns to God as the only reality, and finds in the crucified Saviour his only comfort. This is the core of the evangelical doctrine of justification rightly understood.

[1] "*Unico maestro Michelangelo e mio singularissimo amico.*"

"Freed from a burden sore and grievous band,
Dear Lord, and from this wearying world untied,
Like a frail bark I turn me to Thy side,
As from a fierce storm to a tranquil land.
Thy thorns, Thy nails, and either bleeding hand,
With Thy mild, gentle, piteous face, provide
Promise of help and mercies multiplied,
And hope that yet my soul secure may stand.

"Let not Thy holy eyes be just to see
My evil past, Thy chastened ears to hear,
And stretch the arm of judgment to my crime;
Let Thy blood only lave and succor me,
Yielding more perfect pardon, better cheer,
As older still I grow with lengthening time."[1]

The day of Michel Angelo's death was the day of Galileo Galilei's birth in Florence. The golden age of art had passed, the age of science was at hand. When the fruit is ripe it begins to decay. But a thing of beauty remains "a joy for ever."

The great artists of the Renaissance belong not to Italy alone, but to the world and to all ages.

[1] See the sonnets, translated by Symonds, *The Fine Arts*, p. 527 *sq.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REVIVAL OF PAGANISM IN ITALY.

The revival of classical literature and art carried in it the danger of a revival of heathenism in religion and morality. The worship of classical forms led to the worship of classical ideas. Some humanists and artists combined culture with Christian faith and devoted their genius to the cause of truth and virtue; but the majority silently or openly sacrificed to the gods of Greece and Rome rather than to the God of the Bible. The dazzling glory of classical antiquity obscured the humble beauty of Christianity.

The pagan tendency showed itself in the slavish imitation of classical forms. The Ciceronian style superseded the ecclesiastical and biblical style. Bembo advised Sadoleto to "avoid the Epistles of Paul, lest the barbarous style of the Apostle should spoil his taste." Parents substituted mythological names for those of saints in christening their children. Vernacular proper names were turned into Latin and Greek. The scholars of the North adopted this childish fashion. Thus we have *Capnion* for Reuchlin (from *Rauch, smoke*), *Desiderius Erasmus* (*Erasmios*) for Gerhard, *Melanchthon* for Schwarzerd, *Camerarius* for Kammermeister, *Oecolampadius* for Hausschein, *Lupulus* for Wölflein, *Vadianus* for Watt, *Glareanus* for Loreti (of Glarus), *Bibliander* for Buchmann, *Comander* for Dorfmann. Hutten, Luther, Zwingli, Cranmer, and Knox, who were more patriotic, adhered to their vernacular names.

A more serious change was the paganizing of sacred terms and the substitution of mythological for Christian ideas. The saints became *Dii* or *Deæ;* their statues, *simulacra*

sancta Deorum ; Peter and Paul, *Dii titulares Romæ* or *Sanctus Romulus* and *S. Remus ;* the nuns, *Virgines Vestales ;* the departed souls of the righteous, *Manes pii ;* heaven, *Olympus ;* the Cardinal, an *augur*, and the College of Cardinals, *Senatus sacer ;* the Pope, *Pontifex Maximus*, and his thunders, *Diræ ;* Providence, *Fatum* or *Fortuna ;* and God, *Jupiter Optimus Maximus !* Erasmus had a more intelligent appreciation of Ciceronian Latinity than Bembo, and protested against such absurd pedantry as characterized humanism in its dotage.

The gates of Dante's Paradise, which were formerly shut even to Homer and Virgil, to Plato and Aristotle, were now thrown open to the beloved heathen, and their Christian successors welcomed them to honored seats in the realm of glory. Even Erasmus recognized a sort of divine inspiration in the ancient classics, and was tempted to pray : " *Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis !* "

As to religion, the majority of humanists and artists of the Renaissance were either entirely indifferent, or they outwardly conformed to the tradition and ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church, while inwardly they leaned to skepticism, heresy, and infidelity. Some of the most frivolous were servants of the pope and members of the clerical order. We find in the age of the Renaissance the same unnatural combination of a nominal Catholicism with real irreligion as among the educated classes in the Latin races of to-day. Religion is deemed good enough for women and children : but men have a substitute for it in education and culture. Indifferentism or infidelity in days of health and wealth ; confession and absolution in sickness and on the death-bed. Machiavelli died with the consolations of the Church which he undermined in his writings. Dante was a devout Catholic, though very bold in his censures of the popes ; Petrarca combined love of Cicero with love of St. Augustin, and complained that some of his contemporaries considered high culture incompatible with the Christian profession ; Traversari strictly observed the rules of his monastic order ; Manetti, Leonardo Bruni, Vittorino da Feltre, Marsilio Ficino, Sado-

leto, Vittoria Colonna, Reuchlin, Erasmus, were Christian believers. But Poggio, Filelfo, Valla, and the majority of humanists cared little or nothing for religion, and yet were not serious enough to investigate the truth, nor independent enough to run the risk of an open rupture with orthodoxy, which would have subjected them to the Inquisition and death at the stake.[1] Humanism was substituted for Christianity, the worship of art and eloquence for reverence to truth and holiness. Homer was "the unknown God," and Cicero the chief patron saint of the Renaissance. The liberal scholars of Bologna and Padua denied the immortality of the soul, and the Lateran Council of 1512 found it necessary to proclaim it as an article of faith.

The weakest point in the humanists was their lack of serious morality, which can never be separated from religion. They were the natural enemies of the monks, who as a class hated learning, boasted of superior piety, made a display of their proud humility, and yet constantly quarrelled with each other. Boccaccio and the novelists selected monks and nuns as heroes and heroines of their obscene tales. Poggio, Filelfo, Valla, Erasmus, and the writers of the *Epistolæ Virorum Obscurorum* chastised with caustic irony and satire the hypocrisy and vices of the monks, and they could do so without impunity; for the monks were not the Church.

But the humanists were blind to the self-denying virtues of monasticism. Their own moral code was more pagan than Christian. They resembled the Sophists of Greece in arro-

[1] Voigt (II., 213): "*Keiner der Humanisten hat sich offen und principiell gegen Christenthum oder Kirche zu erklären gewagt. Auch vor dogmatischen Abweichungen schützte sie ihre Gleichgültigkeit gegen alle Kirchenlehre und Theologie. Selbst Valla stellte seine verketzerten Behauptungen mehr nur auf, um seine pfäffischen Feinde zu ärgern, nicht um ihrer sebst willen. Auch waren diese literarischen Helden viel zu sehr Höflinge, um gegen die conventionellen Formen der Kirche Stellung zu nehmen. Aber trotz dem war der Kreis ihrer Gedanken und Ideale ein gründlich anderer als der kirchliche und christliche. Im Stillen und im Verkehr mit einander wucherte das heidnische Wesen, und im besten Fall ersetzte eine stoische Ethik die Gebote der Religion. . . . Im Ganzen war der Humanismus zweifellos ein geborener Feind der Kirche, der ihre Grundlagen unterhöhlte, den Papstthum und Prälatur als eine gefährliche Schlange am Busen hegten.*"

gance, vanity, and want of principle and dignity. They were full of envy and jealousy, and in their disgraceful personal quarrels they spared no epithet of abuse. In their admiration for the culture and virtues of the ancient Greeks and Romans, they excused and imitated, or even surpassed, their faults and vices.

They usually professed the Stoic morality, which comes nearest to the Christian standard, but is compatible with inordinate pride, ambition, and haughty contempt of the uncultured multitude. They cared for the appearance, rather than the substance of virtue. Machiavelli, the brilliant Florentine politician and historian, a worshipper of ability and power, and admirer of Cæsar Borgia—that master in the art of vice,—built upon the basis of the Renaissance a political system of absolute egotism; yet he demands of the prince that he shall guard the appearance of five virtues to deceive the ignorant.[1] Under the cover of Stoicism many humanists indulged in a refined Epicureanism.

The writings of the humanists abound in offences against morality and decency. Poggio was already seventy years of age when he published his filthy *Facetiæ*, which appeared twenty-six times in print before 1500, and in three Italian translations.[2] Filelfo's epigrams, *De Jocis et Seriis*, are declared by Rosmini, his biographer, to contain "horrible obscenities and expressions from the streets and the brothels." Beccadelli and Aretino openly preached the emancipation of the flesh, and were not ashamed to embellish and glorify licentiousness in brilliant verses, for which they received the homage of princes and prelates. The *Hermaphroditus* of the former was furiously attacked by the monks in the pulpit, but applauded by the humanists. Pietro Aretino (1492–1557), the most obscene poet of Italy, was called *il divino Aretino*, honored by Charles V., Francis I., and Clem-

[1] The principles of his *Principe* are fully discussed by Villari in his *Machiavelli*, II., 403–473, and by Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, Ch. VI. (p. 306 *sqq.*).

[2] Burckhardt says (p. 273): "Poggio's works contain dirt enough to create a prejudice against the whole class—and these '*Opera Poggii*' were just those most frequently printed on the north, as well as the south, side of the Alps."

ent VII., and dared even to aspire to a cardinal's hat, but found a miserable end.[1]

There was nothing in the principles of the humanists to prevent the practice of licentiousness. With some honorable exceptions, they had no scruples about keeping mistresses, or violating the vow of chastity. The law of sacerdotal celibacy is responsible for a great deal of sexual immorality, but affords only a partial excuse. Boccaccio's *Decamerone* reveals and palliates the wide extent of sexual offences among priests and monks. In no century were so many decrees passed by councils against the concubinage of the clergy as in the fourteenth and fifteenth. There is reason to believe that the unnatural vice to which the Greeks gave their name, reappeared among some of the humanists; for they not unfrequently charged each other with it.[2]

Among the artists of the Renaissance we find, as well as among the humanists, some pure and saintly men, like Fra Giovanni and Fra Bartolommeo; but, as a class, they were no better than the scholars, and, if possible, even more lax in regard to sexual license.[3]

[1] He published lascivious *Sonetti lussuriosi* and pornographic *Ragionamenti*, but also pious romances. He furnished the text to a series of obscene pictures of Giulio Romano. See Mazzuchelli, *Vita di Pietro Aretino*, Padua, 1741, and Symonds, *Ital. Lit.*, II., 383 *sqq*. Reumont (*Hist. of Rome*, III., Part II., 367) calls Aretino "*die Schandsäule der Literatur.*"

[2] Voigt, II., 471: "*Es ist kein Zweifel, dass auch jene geschlechtliche Verirrung, zu deren Bezeichnung das Volk der Griechen seinen Namen leiht, in Italien während des 15. Jahrh. nicht nur in einzelnen Fällen und im scheuen Dunkel sich regte, sondern hier und dort wie eine moralische Pest herrschte, . . . Neapel, Florenz und Siena werden als die Hauptsitze aller Schwelgerei und der unnatürlichen Laster bezeichnet.*"

[3] Speaking of the Italian artists of that period, Mrs. Jameson says: "There prevailed with this pagan taste in literature and art a general laxity of morals, a license of conduct, and a disregard of all sacred things such as had never, even in the darkest ages of barbarism, been known in Italy. The papal chair was during that period filled by two popes, the perfidious and cruel Sixtus IV., and the more detestable Alexander VI. (the infamous Borgia). Florence, meantime, under the sway of Lorenzo and his sons, became one of the most magnificent, but also one of the most dissolute of cities."—*Memoirs of Early Italian Painters*, new ed., London (J. Murray) 1868, p. 154. Comp. Grimm's *Michelangelo*, I., 114 sqq.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE STATE OF MORALS IN ROME.

The moral corruption centred in Rome and spread its poisonous influence over all Italy, and even beyond the Alps.

The popes of the Renaissance from Nicolas V. to Leo X., were successors of Mæcenas rather than of St. Peter, and one of them was equal to Caiaphas among the high priests of Israel. They were intolerant of open heresy, but not of open immorality and secret infidelity. Alexander VI. caused the death of Savonarola, the moral reformer, while he himself committed the boldest crimes. Leo X. condemned Luther, while he himself doubted the truth of Christianity. Immorality did not debar from promotion to the highest dignities. The popes maintained in the hierarchical interest the laws of sacerdotal celibacy, but allowed them to be broken by prelates in their confidence and employ.

Pius II. (1458–'64) was a great scholar, but held immoral connections in his youth and early manhood, and frivolously shielded his illegitimate offspring by an appeal to David and Solomon.

Sixtus IV. (1471–'84) was a great builder, but also a shameless promoter of nepotism. He sanctioned the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medici. He felt no scruple in taxing and thereby legalizing houses of prostitution for the increase of the revenues of the Curia. In 1490 (that is, before the appearance of syphilis) there were in Rome no less than 6,800 public prostitutes,—an enormous number in proportion to the population.[1] All parts of Italy and Spain

[1] Infessura, in Eccard, *Scriptores*, II., 1997, quoted by Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 316 (p. 400 of the English translation). He adds: "The public women only, not the kept women are meant."

contributed to the number of courtesans. They lived in greater splendor in Rome than the hetæræ in Athens, and bore classical names, such as Diana, Lucrezia, Camilla, Giulia, Costanza, Imperia, Beatrice. They were accompanied on their promenades and walks to the church by poets, counts, and prelates, but usually concluded their gilded misery in hospitals after their beauty had faded away.[1]

Innocent VIII. (1484-'92) brought into the Vatican several bastard sons and daughters by different women, and was sarcastically called "the *guilty* father of Rome."[2] He practised nepotism without restraint, and revoked an order of the papal Vicar which forbade clergymen and laymen to keep concubines. "Avarice, venality, sloth, and the ascendency of base favorites made his reign loathsome without the blaze and splendor of the scandals of his fiery predecessor. In corruption he advanced a step even beyond Sixtus, by establishing a bank at Rome for the sale of pardons. Each sin had its price, which might be paid at the convenience of the criminal: 150 ducats of the tax were to be poured into the papal treasury; the surplus fell to Franceschetto, the pope's son. . . . This traffic filled the Campagna with brigands and assassins. . . . In the city itself more than two hundred persons were publicly assassinated with impunity during the last months of the pope's life."[3]

Alexander VI. (1492–1503), the infamous Roderigo Borgia, surpassed all his predecessors in wickedness. He is the Nero among the popes. He combined the talents and vices of his native Spain with those of Italy. He was handsome, imposing, eloquent, brilliant, temperate in eating, affable, and per-

[1] Von Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.*, III., P. II., 461 *sqq.* Aretino who was at home in this company, embellished it with consummate poetic skill. Symonds remarks (*Revival of Learning*, p. 406): "At Rome virtuous women had no place; but Phryne lived again in the person of Imperia."

[2] "*Octo Nocens genuit pueros totidemque puellas,*
Nunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem."

[3] Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, p. 403 *sq.* A Roman who had killed two of his own daughters bought pardon for 800 ducats.

suasive, but a slave to ambition, avarice, and sensuality, and utterly unscrupulous in the choice of means for the gratification of these towering passions. His contemporaries believed him capable of any crime, even that of incest with his beautiful daughter Lucrezia, which, however, is probably unfounded.[1] He had five children by the adulterous Rosa Vannozza, and used his power for their aggrandizement. He also had carnal intercourse with Giulia Farnese, surnamed La Bella, the titular wife of Orsino Orsini. He turned the Vatican into an Oriental harem. He had bought the papal tiara by bribing the cardinals, who had bought their hats with gold and were ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder. He abundantly repaid himself for the outlay. He sold the highest dignities for enormous sums. Twelve cardinals' hats were put up at auction in a single day. He created eighteen Spanish cardinals, five of whom belonged to the house of Borgia. He gave rise to the saying: "Alexander sells the keys, the altars, Christ. Well, he bought them; so he has a right to sell them." A Carmelite dared to preach against simony in 1494, but was soon found murdered in his bed, with twenty wounds. After fattening his prelates, he poisoned them. Onufrio Panvinio, the official epitomizer of the history of the popes, mentions three cardinals, Orsini, Ferrerio, and Michiel, whom Alexander sent to the sleep of death.[2] The same writer says that he would have put all the other rich cardinals and prelates out of the way to get their property, had he not, in the midst of his great plans for his son, been struck down by death.[3] His second son,

[1] Lucrezia bore a good character after her third marriage to Alfonso d'Este, Crown Prince of Ferrara, and gave herself much to acts of devotion and charity, as well as to the patronage of letters. She wore a Spanish costume and was saluted by Spanish buffoons at her entrance to Ferrara. Her first marriage was dissolved by the pope; the second ended with the murder of her husband by her brother Cesare, who was also charged with incest. See Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, Stuttgart, 3d ed., 1876, 2 vols.

[2] *Epitome Pontificum*, p. 359, quoted by Burckhardt, 116, note.

[3] *Contin. Platinæ*, p. 341. Burckhardt adds to this quotation (p. 117): "And what might not Cæsar have achieved if, at the moment when his father died, he had not himself been laid upon a sick-bed! What a conclave would that have been, in which, armed with all his weapons, he had extorted his elec-

Cæsar, who was made an archbishop and cardinal, and aimed, with his father's consent, at succession to the papal chair with a view to secularize the estates of the Church, fully equalled him in genius for crime. He killed, in true Spanish fashion, six wild bulls in an enclosed court, murdered his brother, his brother-in-law, and other relatives and courtiers, and used to wander about in the dark with his guards to gratify his insane thirst for blood. The Venetian ambassador, Paolo Capello, reported, in the year 1500, that "every night four or five murdered men were discovered, bishops, prelates, and others, so that all Rome was trembling for fear of being destroyed by the Duke (Cæsar)." When caution was necessary, the Borgias made use of a white powder which had a pleasant taste and did its work slowly but surely. By an accidental taste of the poisoned cup Alexander died of the same powder which he and his son had prepared for a rich cardinal. Cæsar got sick also, but survived four years. According to another account, they were attacked by a malignant fever during the meal; while the pope's physician ascribed his death to apoplexy. The legend says that the devil carried off his soul, which he had sold to him for the papacy.

Alexander treated with the Sultan of Turkey for making war upon "the most Christian" king of France (Charles VIII.), and divided the American continent, discovered by Columbus, between Spain and Portugal, by virtue of his apostolic power![1]

tion from a college whose numbers he had judiciously reduced by poison—and this at a time when there was no French army at hand! In pursuing such an hypothesis the imagination loses itself in an abyss."

[1] Much has been written of late on this pope, partly with the apologetic aim of denying or whitewashing his almost incredible crimes, by Cerri (1878), Ollivier (1870), Nemec (1879), Leonetti (1880), Clément (1882), Höfler (1888), Yriarte (1889), and others. I add the description of the nearly contemporary Italian historian, Guicciardini (*Storia Fiorentina*, ch. 27, as translated by Symonds, p. 603 *sq.*): "So died Pope Alexander, at the height of glory and prosperity; about whom it must be known that he was a man of the utmost power and of great judgment and spirit, as his actions and behavior showed. But as his first accession to the papacy was foul and shameful, seeing he had bought with gold so high a station, in like manner his government disagreed not with this base

The Vatican during that period has been compared to the court of the worst emperors of heathen Rome, with the ex-

foundation. There were in him, and in full measure, all vices both of flesh and spirit; nor could there be imagined in the ordering of the Church a rule so bad but that he put it into working. He was most sensual toward both sexes, keeping publicly women and boys, but more especially toward women (*fu lussuriosissimo nell' uno e nell' altro sesso, tenendo publicamente femine e garzoni, ma più ancora nelle femine*); and so far did he exceed all measure that public opinion judged he knew Madonna Lucrezia, his own daughter, toward whom he bore a most tender and boundless love. He was exceedingly avaricious, not in keeping what he had acquired, but in getting new wealth: and where he saw a way toward drawing money, he had no respect whatever; in his days were sold as at auction all benefices, dispensations, pardons, bishoprics, cardinalships, and all court dignities: unto which matters he had appointed two or three men privy to his thought, exceeding prudent, who let them out to the highest bidder. He caused the death by poison of many cardinals and prelates, even among his intimates, those namely whom he noted to be rich in benefices and understood to have hoarded much, with the view of seizing on their wealth. His cruelty was great, seeing that by his directions many were put to violent death; nor was the ingratitude less with which he caused the ruin of the Sforzeschi and Colonnesi, by whose favor he acquired the papacy. There was in him no religion, no keeping of his troth: he promised all things liberally, but stood to nought but what was useful to himself: no care for justice, since in his days Rome was like a den of thieves and murderers: his ambition was boundless, and such that it grew in the same measure as his state increased: nevertheless, his sins meeting with no due punishment in this world, he was to the last of his days most prosperous. While young and still almost a boy, having Calixtus for his uncle, he was made cardinal and then vice-chancellor: in which high place he continued till his papacy, with great revenue, good fame, and peace. Having become pope, he made Cesare, his bastard son and bishop of Pampeluna, a cardinal, against the ordinances and decrees of the Church, which forbid the making of a bastard cardinal even with the pope's dispensation, wherefore he brought proof by false witnesses that he was born in wedlock. Afterwards he made him a layman and took away the cardinal's dignity from him, and turned his mind to making a realm; wherein he fared far better than he purposed, and, beginning with Rome, after undoing the Orsini, Colonnesi, Savelli, and those barons who were wont to be held in fear by former popes, he was more full master of Rome than ever had been any pope before. With the greatest ease he got the lordships of Romagna, the March, and the Duchy; and having made a most fair and powerful state, the Florentines held him in much fear, the Venetians in jealousy, and the king of France in esteem. Then having got together a fine army, he showed how great was the might of a pontiff when he hath a valiant general and one in whom he can place faith. At last he grew to that point that he was counted the balance in the war of France and Spain. In one word he was more evil and more lucky than ever for many ages peradventure had been any pope before."

ception that the places of married ladies were occupied by concubines. The girls of higher society were kept in strict seclusion; but adulteries and assassinations from jealousy were fearfully frequent.[1]

It is characteristic of the reign of the Borgias that the sudden death of any distinguished man usually suggested the suspicion of poisoning.[2] No stain attached to illegitimate birth whether from maidens or wives. Deception was expected from everybody, and only that deceiver was despised who allowed himself to be deceived by another. Revenge *(bella vendetta)* was regarded as praiseworthy, when practised for the purpose of teaching caution. There have been bad priests in all ages; but it will be difficult to find one who was gradually driven by passion from crime to crime till he came to be the head of a band of robbers. And yet such a monster lived in Italy during the pontificate of Alexander VI.[3]

[1] Burckhardt (p. 443) quotes from Bandello, the novelist, who died 1506: "Nowadays we see a woman poison her husband to gratify her lusts, thinking that a widow may do whatever she desires. Another, fearing the discovery of an illicit amour, has her husband murdered by her lover. And though fathers, brothers, and husbands arise to extirpate the shame with poison, with the sword, and by every other means, women still continue to follow their passions, careless of their honor and their lives." Another time, in a milder strain, he exclaims: "Would that we were not daily forced to hear that one man has murdered his wife because he suspected her of infidelity; that another has killed his daughter, on account of a secret marriage; that a third has caused his sister to be murdered, because she would not marry as he wished! It is great cruelty that we claim the right to do whatever we list, and will not suffer women to do the same."

[2] This was the case also in other Italian cities at that time. "The Sforzas, the Aragonese monarchs, the Republic of Venice, and, later on, the agents of Charles V., resorted to murder as one of the instruments of their power whenever it suited their purpose. The imagination of the people at last became so accustomed to facts of this kind, that the death of any powerful man was seldom or never attributed to natural causes. . . . There may be some truth in the story of that terrible white powder used by the Borgias, which did its work at the end of a definite period."—Burckhardt, p. 451. Grimm makes the same remark (*Mich. Ang.*, I., 114): "*Kein bedeutender Mann* [*starb*] *damals, dessen Tod nicht zu dem Gerüchte einer Vergiftung Anlass gab.*"

[3] Burckhardt relates his story, p. 449 (from the *Diario Ferrarese* in Murat., XXIV., 312): "On August 12, 1495, the priest Don Niccolò de' Pelegati of

Julius II. (1503–'13) was a great improvement upon Alexander, but he, too, cared more for the temporal than the spiritual interests of the papacy. He represents the reign of Mars after that of Venus. He devoted his time, with brilliant success, to war, diplomacy, and art. He bent all his energy upon the consolidation of the temporal power of the papacy at the expense of Italy. He encouraged Raphael and Michel Angelo, and began the new Church of St. Peter. He suffered from that Gallic disease which is the result of unlawful indulgence, so that he could not cross his feet for adoration on Good Friday.[1]

Leo X. (1513–'21), the last and most prodigal Renaissance pope, entered upon his office with the determination "to enjoy the papacy which God had given him."[2] And he carried it out. He was free from gross vices, as far as known, but utterly worldly, a cultivated heathen, a good-natured follower of Epicurus. His remark about "the profitable fable of Christ" is probably a myth, but it characterizes the skeptical atmosphere around him. He attended mass in the morning, and the theatre in the evening. He kept an extravagant table, wasted the treasury of the curia, and accumulated an enormous debt, for the payment of which the very jewels of his tiara were pledged. He was immoderately fond of the chase, of comedy, and jests. He kept one hundred grooms for the service of his stable. His love of buffoonery, says Roscoe, his admirer, "was carried to such an extent that his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain

Figarolo was shut up in an iron cage outside the tower of San Giuliano at Ferrara. He had twice celebrated mass; the first time he had the same day committed murder, but afterwards received absolution at Rome; he then killed four people and married two wives, with whom he travelled about. He afterwards took part in many assassinations, violated women, carried others away by force, plundered far and wide, and infested the territory of Ferrara with a band of followers in uniform, extorting food and shelter by every sort of violence. When we think of what all this implies, the mass of guilt on the head of this one man is something tremendous."

[1] His master of ceremonies assigns as the reason (as quoted by Roscoe), "*quia totus erat ex morbo Gallico alterosus.*"

[2] "*Godiamoci il papato, poichè Dio ce l' ha dato,*" he said to his brother Giuliano after his election.

his favor than by introducing to him such persons as, by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were likely to exercise his mirth." On one occasion a harlequin monk furnished the mirth at table by his extraordinary voracity in swallowing a pigeon whole, and consuming forty eggs and twenty capons in succession.

And this was the pope who condemned Martin Luther for heresy, and would have burned him at the stake, if Frederick of Saxony had delivered him to Rome. What would have been the fate of our Saviour, if he had reappeared and hurled his fearful denunciations at the Pharisees and Sadducees who then sat in Moses' seat?

I add a few general testimonies of the ablest, unprejudiced writers on the period of the Renaissance.

Machiavelli, a shrewd and cool observer of men and things, a skeptic, and even an admirer of Cæsar Borgia, makes this remarkable statement: "The Italians are irreligious and corrupt above others, because the Church and her representatives set us the worst example." He asserts, moreover, that, "in proportion as we approach nearer the Roman Church, we find less piety," and that, "owing to the evil example of the papal court, Italy has lost all piety and all religion, whence follow infinite troubles and disorders; for, as religion implies all good, so its absence implies the contrary."[1] He makes the papacy responsible for the divisions in Italy, and this charge is confirmed by the irreconcilable hostility of the latest popes to Italian unity and independence. Guicciardini, who was secretary and vice-gerent of the Medicean popes, makes another startling confession in his "Aphorisms" (1529): "My position at the court of several popes has compelled me to desire their aggrandizement for the sake of my own profit. Otherwise I should have loved Martin Luther like myself—not that I might break loose from the laws which Christianity, as it is usually understood and explained, lays upon us, but that I might see that horde of villains *(questa caterva di*

[1] *Discorsi*, Lib. I., cap. 12. Comp. cap. 55: "Italy is more corrupt than all other countries; then come the French and the Spaniards."

scellerati) reduced within due limits, and forced to live either without vices or without power."[1] We have even the contemporary testimony of a pope, Adrian VI., a Dutchman, who was elected after Leo X., as a reforming pope, but who reigned less than two years (from January 9, 1522, to September 14, 1523), and was followed by another Medici (Clement VII.). He admitted through his legate, Francesco Chieregati, at the Diet of Nürnberg, March, 1522, "that for some time many abominations, abuses, and violations of rights have taken place in the Holy See; and that all things have been perverted into bad. From the head the corruption has passed to the limbs, from the pope to the prelates; we have all gone astray, there is none that doeth good, no, not one."[2]

Passing to modern historians, Gregorovius says, of the age of Leo X., in the eighth volume of his "History of the City of Rome: "The richest intellectual life blossomed in a swamp of vices."[3] According to Burckhardt, the rights of marriage were more often and more deliberately trampled under foot in Italy than anywhere else, and at the

[1] *Opere inedite*, Vol. I.; *Ricordi*, No. 28. Quoted by Burckhardt, p. 464, and by Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, 452 *sq.* Symonds adds: "These utterances are all the more remarkable, because they do not proceed from the deep sense of holiness which animated reformers like Savonarola."

[2] Raynaldus, *ad ann.*, 1522 (*Annal.*, Tom. XI., 363); Schaff, *Church History*, VI., 393 *sq.*

[3] *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, VIII., 282: "*Das reichste geistige Leben blühte hier* [in Rome] *im Sumpf der Laster.*" In Vol. VII., 411, he says: "*Begier nach Macht und Genuss war der Trieb jener Zeit, wo die Lehre Epicur's das Christenthum bezwungen hatte. Die wollüstige Natur erscheint fast in jedem hervorragenden Menschen jener Epoche, und Alexander VI. über Kam Rom als einen moralischen Sumpf. . . . Jene Zeit ertrug und verübte das Furchtbare als wäre es Natur. Wir Menschen von heute fassen das Kaum. Die Borgia stellten die Renaissance des Verbrechens dar, wie es die Zeit des Tiberius und anderer Kaiser gesehen hatte. Sie besassen den kühnsten Muth dazu, aber das Verbrechen selbst wurde unter ihren Händen zum Kunstwerk. Dies ist es, warum Machiavelli, der politische Naturforscher seiner Zeit, einen Cæsar Borgia bewundert hat. Gold war das Idol, vor dem sich alles beugte. Durch Gold stieg Alexander VI. auf den Thron, mit ihm behauptete er ihn, und gewann er für Cæsar Länder. Er that auch nur was seine Vorgänger gethan, wenn er jedes Amt, jede Gunst, jedes Recht und Unrecht feil bot. Nur that er diess in grösseren Dimensionen.*"

middle of the sixteenth century Italy was in a moral crisis, out of which the best men saw no escape.[1] In the opinion of Symonds, who wrote seven volumes on the Renaissance, it is "almost impossible to overestimate the moral corruption of Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century."[2] "The chiefs of the Church with cynical effrontery violated every tradition of Christ and the Apostles, so that the example of Rome was in some sense the justification of fraud, violence, lust, filthy living, and ungodliness to the whole nation."[3] "Never," says Dr. Woolsey, "had vice shown itself in such frightful forms since Christianity had appeared among men, and nowhere was its sway more fearfully great than in the very heart and centre of religion."[4]

Yet Rome was no worse than Genoa, Venice, Naples, Florence, and Paris: she was only more dangerous in proportion to her power and influence. Everywhere we find an unnatural divorce of religion and morality. The mass of the people were sunk in ignorance and superstition; while the intellectual aristocracy of the Church and the State gave the lie to their Christian profession by heathen practices.

We make these statements and collect these witnesses, not from any hatred to the Roman Church, which we honor as the Alma Mater of the Middle Ages, but in deference to the truth of history.

And this is the period which modern ultramontane historians, in their zeal for the honor of the papacy, would fain make us believe was the golden age of the Church; while the Reformation is condemned by them as an apostasy from Christianity and the mother of all evils of modern times! The Reformation, on the contrary, saved the Church from a relapse into heathenism and infidelity. Without the Protestant Reformation there would have been no Roman counter-Reformation.

[1] See his chapter on the fall of the humanists in the sixteenth century, pp. 272 *sqq.*; and on their morality, 431 *sqq.*

[2] *Revival of Learning*, p. 406.

[3] *Age of the Despots*, p. 447.

[4] On the *Revival of Letters*, in the "New Englander" for 1865, p. 669.

When Erasmus, in 1506, visited literary and artistic Rome as a renowned and idolized scholar, he was delighted with her culture and refinement, her freedom of discourse, her large style of life, the honeyed conversation of her scholars, and all her works of art, which only Lethe could efface from his memory; but he admits in another letter that abominable blasphemies were uttered unpunished even by priestly lips connected with the papal court.[1] When Luther, in 1510, visited holy Rome, as an humble and obscure monk, climbing up the Scala Santa on his knees with a protesting conscience, he was shocked by the prevailing worldliness, frivolity, and ill-disguised infidelity, and he afterwards declared that he would not take a thousand guilders for that experience which prepared him for his crusade against the Roman Babylon.[2]

The moral corruption of Rome and Italy in the later half of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth is the best justification of the Protestant Reformation.

[1] *Epist. ad Augustinum Eugubinum* (*Opera*, ed. Cleric. III., II., p. 1382): "*At ego Romæ his auribus audivi quosdam abominandis blasphemiis debacchantes in Christum et in illius Apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, et quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant, se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam sacerdotibus, aulae Pontificiæ ministris, idque in ipsa Missa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit.*" In another letter he expresses the fear that the revival of classical literature might lead to a revival of heathenism, and a revival of Hebrew learning to a revival of Judaism (III., 1, p. 189).

[2] He heard that priests said over the bread and wine in the mass: "*Panis es, panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis.*" A priest near him dispatched his own mass in the most hurried manner, and told him, "*passa, passa*, have done, send her Son soon home again to our Lady." Walch, Luther's *Werke*, XIV., 1509; Mathesius, *Life of Luther*, p. 6. This agrees well with the admission of Erasmus quoted in the preceding note.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ART OF PRINTING.

Mich. Maittaire: *Annales Typographici ab artis inventæ originis ad ann. 1557, cum appendice ad ann. 1664* (Hagæ—Comit., 1719–'25, 3 tom. in 5 vols., 4°; the first tom. rewritten, Amsterdam, 1733).—C. A. Schaab: *Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, Mainz, 1830–'31, 3 vols.—K. Falkenstein: *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Leipzig, 1840, 2d ed., 1856.—Dupont: *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, Paris, 3d ed., 1869.—Humphrey: *The History of the Art of Printing*, London, 1867.—Theo. L. De Vinne: *The Invention of Printing*, New York, 1876, 2d ed., 1878.—K. Faulmann: *Illustrirte Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Wien, 1882.—Antonius von der Linde: *Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, Berlin, 1886, 3 large vols.—Comp. also Fr. Kapp: *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Leipzig, 1886; Janssen: *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, I., 9–20.

On the technical part, see the *Dictionary of Typography*, London, 3d ed., 1875, and an elaborate art. in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xxiii., 681–710.—The word *typographus* (according to *Encyc. Brit.*, XXIII., 681), was first used in 1488 by P. Stephanus Dulcinius Scalæ, and in 1498 by Erasmus; the word *typographia* occurs first in 1520.

Typography, or the art of using movable metallic types for indicating thought, is the most useful invention of modern times, and marks an epoch in the history of civilization. It preserves, multiplies, and cheapens books, and facilitates the collection of public and private libraries. It is the art-preserving art, and protects the world against a relapse into barbarism. It gives to the freedom of man a two-edged sword for good and evil, for truth and falsehood.

Before this invention, books were exceedingly dear and accessible only to a few. A bookseller of Milan demanded 14 sequins for a copy of 19 of Cicero's Familiar Letters. Poggio bought a Bible without the Psalms for 25 gold guilders, and offered it to Pope Nicolas V. for 40. He sold to Beccadelli a copy of Livy, transcribed by himself, for 120 sequins, and bought with them a piece of real estate in

Florence. He sold to Prince Leonello of Este the Letters of St. Jerome for 100 gold guilders; another copy was acquired by Nicolas V. for 45 gold guilders.[1] But after this invention, every scholar could acquire a little library and consult it at leisure, with much more ease than manuscripts.

Printing lessened the importance of living teachers, but increased the number of scholars and authors. Formerly Northern students had to travel to Bologna or Paris to hear a distinguished lecturer; now they could study at home.

Typography is a German invention, and was first fully made available for the general public by the German and Swiss Reformation which gave wings to thoughts and words.[2]

The real inventor of this art was John Gensfleisch, called Gutenberg, of Mainz on the Rhine (1397–1468), who in connection with John Fust or Faust (d. 1466) and his son-in-law, Peter Schöffer (d. 1502), printed the first books. He concluded a contract with Fust, a rich citizen of Mainz, who lent him 800 gold guilders at 6 per cent., Aug. 22, 1450, for the establishment of an office. Schöffer aided him in the mechanical art of casting type. In 1452 they began to print the Latin Bible (*Biblia Latina Vulgata*), which, after great difficulties, was completed at the end of 1455 in two folios of 324 and 317 leaves, but without date or name of place. It is called the Mazarine Bible. Only a few copies remain. The first printed book which bears date, place, and name

[1] Quoted by Voigt, *l.c.*, I., 404 *sqq.*, from Poggio, Filelfo, etc.

[2] The controversy about the person and nationality of the inventor and the place of invention resembles the rival claims of seven cities to be the birthplace of Homer. Mainz, Strassburg, Bamberg, Feltre, and Haarlem contend for the honor. The writer in the "Enc. Brit.," decides with Dutch authorities in favor of Laurens Janszoon Coster at Haarlem, 1445. But his claim has been effectually disproved by A. von der Linde (*Die Haarlemsche Coster-Legende*, 1870, and Gutenberg: *Geschichte und Erdichtung aus den Quellen nachgewiesen*, Stuttgart, 1878), who shows that Coster was a tallow chandler and innkeeper and left Haarlem 1483, and that the first book of Haarlem, entitled "*Dat leiden Jesu*," dates from 1485, and was printed by Jacob Bellaert. The best authorities agree on Gutenberg. Jacob Wimpheling wrote in 1507 (as quoted by Janssen, I., 9): "Of no art can we Germans be more proud than of the art of printing, which made us the intellectual bearers of the doctrines of Christianity, of all divine and earthly sciences, and thus benefactors of the whole race."

of printers, is a *Psalterium*, issued by Fust and Schöffer, August 14, 1457. It is printed in large missal types on fine parchment in folio, and is admired as a masterpiece of typography.[1] Then followed from the same firm the splendid *Biblia Sacra Latina*, 1462, printed from entirely new types of Schöffer, in two folios of 242 and 239 leaves in double columns. It is the Latin Vulgate of Jerome and presents the current text of the 15th century. There were in all 97 editions of the Latin Bible printed between 1455 and 1500 (16 in Germany, 10 in Basel, 9 in France, and 28 in Italy).[2] There were also no less than 17 editions of the German Bible printed between 1462 and 1522 (twelve years before Luther completed his version in 1534, which far outshone the old version).[3]

The destruction of the printing establishment of Fust and Schöffer, October 27, 1462, and the consequent dispersion of the pupils of Gutenberg occasioned the spread of the art throughout a great part of Europe. Before the close of the fifteenth century, we find printing-presses in Bamberg, 1455 (or 1456); Strassburg, 1460 (1471); Cologne, 1465; Augsburg, 1468; Nürnberg, 1473; Rostock, 1476; Basel, 1479; Leipzig, 1481; also in Ulm, Reutlingen, Heidelberg, Lübeck, Paris, Lyons, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Prague, Haarlem, Antwerp, and the leading cities of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. William Caxton (1412–1492), who learned his trade in the Low Countries, introduced the art into England in 1474. The number of known printers, mostly of German extraction, before 1500, exceeds one thousand.[4]

Among the most eminent and learned printers and pub-

[1] The first *date* is said to occur in the letters of indulgence issued in 1454 by Nicolas V. in behalf of the kingdom of Cyprus; but these letters seem to have been printed at Frankfort and Lübeck. See "Enc. Brit.," XXIII., 684.

[2] Reuss (*Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. Ts.*, 6th ed. 1887, p. 545) says: "*Kein Buch ist in der Zeit unmittelbar nach des Erfindung des Bücherdrucks häufiger gedruckt worden als die lateinische Bibel, bis* 1520 *über* 100 *Mal. . . Gewiss ist, dass mehrere undatirte Ausgaben den Anfang machen. . . . Die ältesten Drucke sind ausserdem* [*i. e. ausser von Mainz*] *von Strassburg, Köln Basel. Erst* 1471 *auch ausser Deutschland.*"

[3] See Schaff, *Church Hist.*, VI., 343, 351.

[4] Falkenstein gives a list of them, *l.c.*, 383–393.

lishers were Anton Koburger (or Koberger), of Nürnberg, the king of printers, who employed over a hundred workmen; John Amerbach and John Froben, in Basel, who were in close friendship with Erasmus; Froschauer, in Zürich, who published the writings of Zwingli and the Swiss Bible; the Stephens family (Etienne), in Paris, which died out in 1598; the families of Blaen, Plantin, and Elzevir, in the Netherlands; and of Aldus Manutius, in Venice (down to Aldus Manutius II., who died October 28, 1597). These publishers were as much interested in the diffusion of sound knowledge as in the mechanical and financial part of their profession.

Italy deserves the merit of having embellished and perfected the art. The first printing establishments were founded by Germans in the Benedictine abbey of Subiaco and at Rome ("*in ædibus Petri de Maximis*"), 1465 and 1467, by two Germans, Pannartz and Schweinheim. Then followed Milan, 1469; Foligno, 1470; Verona, 1470; Bologna, 1471; Ferrara, 1471; Florence, 1471; Naples, Pavia, Parma, Padua, Brescia, Genoa, Turin, etc. The most splendid Italian printing establishment was founded by Aldus Manutius (Aldo Manuzio), in Venice, 1488. The Aldine editions of the Greek and Roman classics (many of them *editiones principes*) are still highly prized for correctness and beauty. Before the year 1500 there appeared over eight thousand books in Italy, more than one third of them (nearly three thousand) in Venice. They included most of the Latin authors, with or without commentaries, the works of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Filelfo, Bruni, Valla, and other humanists, and of Christian fathers, as Lactantius, Augustin, and Jerome. The first Greek book, the grammar of Constantine Laskaris, was printed at Milan, 1476 (1477), and reprinted at Venice, 1494; then followed the lexicon of Crastone, 1478. The first ancient Greek work printed was Æsop's Fables, with a translation, between 1476 and 1480, at Milan. Homer's works appeared at Florence, in 1488; Aristotle at Venice, 1495. The Latin Bible was printed repeatedly, in whole or in part; also several editions of the German Bible; but it was not till 1516 that the first

edition of the Greek Testament was published, and then in the Swiss city of Basel, not in Italy. The Italian humanists had not sufficient interest in the Bible.

NOTES.

It is estimated that, before the year 1500, there were in existence forty-two printing-presses, in as many cities, at which at least 16,000 volumes were printed. Placing the average edition of those days at 500 copies, the total number of copies would be over 8,000,000. The copies still extant are comparatively few. They are called incunabula, or cradle-books.

The Vatican Library has probably the richest collection of the first printed works. I examined there a most beautifully written descriptive *Catalogus Codicum Sæculo XV., impressorum qui in Bibliotheca Vaticana Romæ adservantur*, by Aloys. Zappelli, Presby. et Scriptor Latinus, begun 1853, finished 1868, in 3 large vols. fol. The first work mentioned is *Durandi Guil. Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Moguntiæ, 1459; the second, *Biblia Moguntina*, 1462, 2 vols., Mogunt., 1465. Then follow *Ciceronis Officia*, Mogunt., 1465; *Lactantii Divin. Institutionum libri VII.; Bonifacii VIII. Liber Sextus Decretalium*, Mogunt., 1465; *Augustini De Civitate Dei libri XXII.*, sine loco, 1467; *Ciceronis Epistolæ Familiares*, Rom., 1467; *Clementis V. Constitutiones*, Mogunt., 1467; *Augustini Opuscula varia*, Mogunt., 1467; *Meditationes Vitæ et Passionis D. N. Jesu Christi*, Augustæ, 1468; *Justiniani Imperatoris Institutionum libri IV.*, Mogunt., 1468; *Hieronymi Presb. Tractatus et Epistolæ*, Rom., 1468; *Lactantii Div. Instit.*, etc., Rom., 1468; *Augustini De Civitate Dei*, Rom., 1468; *Apuleji Metamorphoseos libri XI.*, Rom., 1469; *Gellii Auli Noctes Atticæ*, Rom., 1469; *Bessarionis Card. Sabini, Adversus calumniatorem Platonis libri V.*, Rom., sine anno (against Georgius Trapezuntius); *Livii Titi Historiarum Romanarum Decades III.*, Rom., sine anno; *Ciceronis Epistolæ Fam.*, Venetiis, 1469; *Lucani Pharsalia*, Rom., 1469, etc., etc.

This catalogue may be regarded as a fair specimen of the taste of that age, and the value set upon books. From the indexes at the close of the third volume, it would appear that the favorite authors, during the first half century of typography, were, among the ancient classics: Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, Tacitus, Pliny, Aristotle, and Plutarch; among the Christian fathers and mediæval divines: Augustin *(De Civit. Dei)*, Lactantius *(Inst. div.)*, Jerome, Gregory I., Chrysostom *(Homilies)*, Eusebius *(Church History* and *Chronicle)*, Thomas Aquinas *(Summa Theol.)*, Nicolaus de Lyra *(Glossa)*, Gratian *(Decretum)*, Durandus *(Rationale Offic.)*, Jac. Voragine *(Legenda Aurea)*; among the humanists: Poggio, Filelfo, Valla *(De Eleg. Lat. ling.)*, Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), Leonard. Aretinus, Theod. Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius; of Italian authors: Petrarca, Boccaccio, Dante, and Savonarola.

The Union Theological Seminary in New York has probably the largest collection of incunabula in America, namely, four hundred and thirty titles, printed between A.D. 1460 and 1510. They are a part of the Leander van Ess Library,

which originally belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Marienwerder, in the diocese of Paderborn (one of the bishoprics founded by Charlemagne after his Saxon conquests), and began to be collected at the time of the Reformation. After the confiscation of the monastery, in 1803, it came into the hands of the librarian, the priest Leander van Ess, Dr. of theology and of the canon law (d. Oct. 13, 1847), and numbered, with his additions, 6,000 separate works, in 13,000 volumes. It was offered for sale ten years before his death for the sum of 11,000 florins, and bought, at the suggestion of Dr. Edward Robinson, by the directors of the Seminary in 1837. See the Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopædia*, I., 760, and especially the account by Prof. T. F. Crane, of Cornell University, in Dr. Prentiss' work, *The Union Theol. Seminary in the City of New York*, etc., New York (Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.), 1889, pp. 101–107. Among the incunabula of this invaluable library are the following works, printed at Cologne, Nürnberg, Basel, Leipzig, Mainz, Venice:

Ægidius, *Commentaries on Aristotle*, 1482 and 1488; Albertus Magnus, *Compendium*, printed at Ulm, without date, and a volume of his *Sermones*. Albert of Padua, *Sermones*, in the edition of 1480; Petrarca, *De Vita Solitaria*, 1496. Twenty-one titles of Anselm, published before 1500; four of Aristotle, sixteen of Augustin, sixteen of Bonaventura, five editions of the *Rationale* of Durandus, all previous to 1500; the *Etymologiæ* of Isidore, of Seville, 1483; Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, in the edition of 1487; five editions of the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard, four of which appeared in four consecutive years, beginning with 1480, at Basel; Ludolph's *Vita Christi*, three editions, beginning with 1474; Lyra's *Postilla*, 1477; and another early copy without date. *Scala Cœli*, 1480; *Speculum Exemplorum*, 1485. Jacobus de Voragine, thirteen entries in the list. Of Bibles, Testaments, missals, breviaries, and works on theology there are too many to mention. There are eight Latin Bibles before 1500, the fourth and ninth German Bibles, 1470 and 1483; the first Low-Dutch Bible of 1480, the Greek Bible of 1526, and the first and second editions of the Hebrew Bible of 1518 and 1521. Koburger's fourth Latin Bible, of 1478, is one of the most clearly printed books now in the Library.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS IN GERMANY.

I. K. Hagen: *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformations-Zeitalter*, Erlangen, 1841–'44 3 vols., 2d ed., Frankfurt, 1868.—Joh. Janssen: *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes beim Ausgang des Mittalters*, Freiburg, i. B., 1876 *sqq.*, the 1st vol., 9th ed., 1883, pp. 55–135. Comp. his alphab. list of books XXVII.—XLIV.—A. Horawitz: *Zur Geschichte des deutschen Humanismus und der deutschen Historiographie*, Hannover, 1875.—Ch. Schmidt: *Histoire litteraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XVI. siècle*, Paris, 1879, 2 vols.—L. Geiger: *Renaissance u. Humanismus in Italien u. Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882, pp. 323–580.

II. Monographs by Kampschulte on the University of Erfurt (1860); Spach on Brant and Murner (1866); Strauss on Ulrich von Hutten (1858, 4th ed. 1876); Ulmann on Franz von Sickingen (1876); Horawitz on Beatus Rhenanus (1872); Plitt on Truttvetter (1876); Binder on Charitas Pirkheimer (1878); Krause on Eoban Hesse, or Hessus (1879, 2 vols.); Hartfelder on Celtes (1881); Schneegans on Abt Trithemius (1882); Drews on Pirkheimer (1887); Fritzsche on Glareanus (1890); Reindell on Luther, Crotus, and Hutten (1890). On Ulrich von Hutten, see Schaff, *Church Hist.*, Vol. VI., 196 *sqq.*; on Pirkheimer, *ibid.*, 434 *sqq.*; on Reuchlin and Erasmus, the lit. in the next two sections.

The humanistic culture of Italy prepared for the ruder but more vigorous nations of the North the possibilities of great intellectual and moral achievements. It served the same purpose as the old classical literature.

The Italians looked down upon the northern nations as barbarians, and despised them for their ignorance, rudeness, and intemperance in eating and drinking. They were far superior to them in temperance, urbanity, and refinement, but inferior in physical and moral energy. When Æneas Sylvius, the first apostle of humanism in Germany, lived at the court of the dull and phlegmatic Emperor Frederick III. (who ruled from 1440 to 1492), he found that the German princes and nobles cared more for horses and dogs than poets

and scholars, and loved their wine cellars better than the muses; while the professors of the universities were lost in a labyrinth of barren scholasticism. Campanus, a witty poet of the papal court, who was sent as legate to the Diet of Regensburg by Paul II., and made Bishop of Teramo by Pius II., abuses Germany for its filth, cold climate, poverty, sour wine, and miserable fare; he laments his unhappy nose which had to smell every thing, and praised his ears which understood nothing.

But in less than a generation there arose scholars in Germany and Holland equal in learning and influence to those of Italy. The Germans learned humanism from Italy, but they invented the printing-press, which gave wings to literature, and they produced the Reformation, which opened the modern era of history.

Humanism in Germany may be dated from the invention of the printing-press; but its flourishing period did not begin till the close of the fifteenth century, and lasted only till about 1520, when it was absorbed by the more popular and powerful religious movement of the Reformation, as Italian humanism was superseded by the papal counter-Reformation.

The chief impulse came from Italy. The patronage of the popes, who stood in correspondence with all the bishops and princes of Christendom, promoted and sanctioned the revival of classical learning and art. Young scholars and artists travelled to Venice, Florence, and Rome, and caught the inspiration of the new era. An enthusiasm for the study of the ancient languages and literature was kindled not only among the Latin races in France, Spain, Portugal, but also in Germany, Holland, Hungary, and Poland.

The revival of classical antiquity prepared the way for a revival of primitive Christianity from the fountain of the Greek Testament. This was the case in Germany, where humanism entered into the service of religious progress. Luther availed himself of the aid of Ulrich von Hutten and Erasmus in opposing existing abuses, but went far deeper

into the spirit of the gospel, which was his moving power. Melanchthon utilized Greek scholarship for the advance of biblical theology. Zwingli and Œcolampadius did the same in Switzerland. Humanism took its inspiration from the classics, the Reformation from the New Testament. The supremacy of literature gave way to the supremacy of religion.[1]

The University of Erfurt, where Luther studied, was the principal seat of humanism in Germany. Heidelberg, Freiburg, Tübingen, Vienna, followed. In German Switzerland, the University of Basel, founded by the humanistic Pope Pius II. in 1460, was the centre of progressive learning through the residence of Erasmus, Glareanus, Amerbach (John and his three sons, Basilius, Bruno, and Bonifacius), and the enterprising publisher Frobenius. The flourishing classical school of Schlettstadt in Alsace should also be mentioned. The cities of Strassburg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and Basel had the most prosperous printing establishments. Among the few princely patrons of scholars must be mentioned the Emperor Maximilian I. (1459–1519), Frederick the Wise of Saxony (1463–1525), and Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz (1490–1545).

The leaders of the new learning were Rudolph Agricola (1443–1485), John Reuchlin (1455–1522), Erasmus (1466–1536), Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), Jakob Wimpheling (1450–1528), Sebastian Brant (1457–1521), Thomas Murner (1475–1537), Bernhard Adelmann (1457–1523), Conrad Celtes (1459–1508), Iodocus Truttvetter, the teacher of Luther (1460–1519), Ulrich Zasius (1461–1535), Joh. Trithemius (1462–1516), Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547), Hermann von Busch (1468–1534), Willibald Pirkheimer (1470–1528), and his highly gifted sister Charitas (1464–1532), Conrad Mutianus Rufus (1471–1526), Heinrich Bebel (1472–1518), Joh.

[1] Voigt (II., 317): "*Der deutsche Humanismus und der italienische haben vieles gemeinsam, aber in einem Punkte weichen sie auffällig aus einander: die Frucht der klassischen Studien war in Italien ein religiöser Indifferentismus, ja ein heimlicher Krieg der Ungläubigkeit gegen Glauben und Kirche; in Deutschland dagegen erweckten sie gerade eine neue Regsamkeit auf den Gebieten der Theologie und des kirchlichen Lebens.*"

Cuspinianus (1473–1529), Joh. Aventinus (1477–1534), Crotus Rubeanus (1480–1540), Georg Spalatin (1484–1545), Joachim Vadianus (1484–1551), Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547), Glareanus or Loriti of Glarus (1488–1563), Eoban Hesse or Hessus (1488–1540), Bonifacius Amerbach (1495–1562). All these scholars were Germans, except Vadianus, Amerbach, and Glareanus, who were German Swiss, and Erasmus, the most eminent of them, who was a Dutchman by birth, but a cosmopolitan in spirit, and lived mostly in Basel.

The German humanists were less brilliant and elegant, but on the whole more serious and religious than their Italian predecessors and contemporaries, if we except Ulrich von Hutten and Celtes (the erotic poet), who equalled them in frivolity and licentiousness. Their reign was limited to a brief period of about thirty years.

The humanists spoke and wrote mostly in a foreign language which was intelligible only to scholars. Luther roused the heart and conscience of the people in their vernacular tongue. His German Bible, German sermons, and German hymns were far more effective than all the Latin orations, epistles, and poems of the humanists. For a while the cause of learning suffered, and the fears of Erasmus were realized; but, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years of Protestant history, humanism and a refined paganism were revived under a higher and more permanent form in the classical literature of Germany. Klopstock, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe were Protestants as to freedom of thought, and champions of modern culture.

And yet humanism was a necessary preparatory school for the Reformation. Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Œcolampadius, Calvin and Beza could never have done their work without a good knowledge of the languages of the Bible, which they obtained from the humanists.

Reuchlin and Erasmus were the pathfinders of biblical learning, the *venerabiles inceptores* of Protestant research. They remained and died in the Roman Church, in which they were born; but they undermined its influence by attacking its prevailing abuses and superstitions, and prepared am-

munition for the battles of the Reformers. Both were equally necessary, Reuchlin first, with his mystic vein and enthusiasm for Oriental wisdom, Erasmus next, with his ironic and rationalistic genius and enthusiasm for Hellenic learning. Ulrich von Hutten called them "the two eyes of Germany."

CHAPTER XXVII.

JOHN REUCHLIN AND HEBREW LEARNING.

Reuchlin's *Briefwechsel*. Ed. by L. Geiger, Tübingen, 1875.

Monographs on Reuchlin by Maverhof, Berlin, 1830; Lamey, Pforzheim, 1855; L. Geiger, Leipzig, 1871 (comp. his *Renaissance*, p. 504 sqq.); Horawitz, Wien, 1877. See also Klüpfel in *Herzog*², xii., pp. 715–724.

On Reuchlin's conflict with the Dominicans of Cologne and Hutten's part in it, see D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, 4th ed. (1878), pp. 132–164, and Böcking in *Hutteni Operum Supplem.*, Tom. II., 55–156.

John Reuchlin (1455–1522) or Capnion,[1] called "the Phenix of Germany," was born in Pforzheim in the Palatinate, studied at Schlettstadt, Freiburg, Paris, Basel, Orleans, Florence, and Rome. He learned Greek from native Greeks, Hebrew from John Wessel and from Jewish rabbis in Germany and Italy. He bought many Hebrew and rabbinical books, and marked the time and place to remind him of the happiness of their first acquaintance. He was a lawyer by profession, practised law in Stuttgart, and always called himself *Legum Doctor*; but in later years he delivered lectures on Greek and Hebrew in the universities of Heidelberg, Ingolstadt, and Tübingen. In Ingolstadt he had a salary of 200 guilders as professor, and lectured in the largest hall before 300 students. He recommended Melanchthon, his grand-nephew, as professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg, and thus unconsciously secured him for the Reformation. He revered, as he said, St. Jerome as an angel, he honored Nicolaus Lyra as a teacher; but he worshipped truth alone as divine.

Reuchlin was at home in almost all the branches of the

[1] From καπνίον (*i.e.*, *little smoke*), the Greek equivalent for *Reuchlin* (the diminutive of *Rauch*, *smoke*). Hermolaus Barbarus thus hellenized him.

learning of his age, but especially in Greek and Hebrew. He wrote a Latin dictionary and a Greek grammar. He was the pioneer of Hebrew learning among Christians, at least in Germany, and furnished the key to the understanding of the Old Testament.

In 1506 he published his Hebrew grammar and dictionary, which became a text-book for Christian scholars.[1] The printing of Hebrew books had begun in Italy in 1475. A chair for Hebrew was founded at Bologna in 1488, and another at Rome in 1514. Hebrew manuscripts were collected and became a valued treasure in large libraries. But very few could make use of them at that time.

Reuchlin studied also the philosophy of the Greeks, the Neo-Platonic and Pythagorean mysticism, and the Jewish Cabbala, and found in them a well of hidden wisdom. He acknowledged in this rare branch of learning his gratitude to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, whom he called "the wise count," and "the greatest scholar of the age." He published the results of his studies in two works—one *De Verbo mirifico*, which appeared at Basel in 1494, and passed through eight editions; and one *De Arte Cabbalistica*, printed in 1517. "The wonder-working word" is the tetragrammaton IHVH (יהוה), the unpronounceable name for God, which is worshipped by the celestials, feared by the infernals, and kissed by the soul of the universe. The name *Jesu (Ihsvh)* is only an enlargement of *Ihvh* by the letter s. The Jehovah- and Jesus-name is the connecting link between God and man, the infinite and the finite. Thus the mystic tradition of the Jews is a confirmation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ. Reuchlin saw in every name, in every letter, in every number of the Old Testament a profound meaning. In the three letters

[1] *Rudimenta linguæ Hebraicæ.* It is based upon David Kimchi, but is the first Hebrew grammar written by a Christian. He proudly concluded the work with the words of Horace: "*Stat* [*Exegi*] *monumentum ære perennius.*" He introduced many technical terms which are still in use. He also explained the difficult theory of Hebrew accentuation, in *De accentibus et orthographia linguæ Hebraicæ*, 1518. Comp. Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des 15ten bis zur Mitte des 16ten Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870.

of the creative word *bara*, Gen. 1 : 1, he found the mystery of the Trinity; in one verse of Exodus, seventy-two inexpressible names of God; in Prov. 30 : 31, a prophecy that Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, shall become emperor of Germany after the death of Maximilian (which was not fulfilled).

We may smile at these fantastic vagaries; but they stimulated and deepened the zeal for the hidden wisdom of the Orient, which he called forth from the grave.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SEMITIC CONTROVERSY. A PRELUDE TO THE REFORMATION.

Reuchlin's interest in the Jews and in rabbinical literature involved him in a controversy with the monks, which spread over all Europe. It was a *Culturkampf*, or a conflict of progressive culture with mediæval obscurantism and anti-Semitic fanaticism. It was a prelude to the Theses-controversy of Luther. But in this case the attack came from the monks, and Reuchlin was on the defensive.

John Pfefferkorn, a baptized Jew of Cologne (1469–1522), proved his zeal for the Christian faith by a series of bitter attacks upon his former co-religionists.[1] He secured from the Emperor Maximilian I., in 1509, permission to burn all the rabbinical writings on account of their blasphemies against Christ. The execution was opposed by the Archbishop of Mayence. Several universities, Reuchlin, and Jakob von Hoogstraten or Hochstraten, papal Inquisitor at Cologne (1460–1527), were consulted. Cologne, Mayence, and Hoogstraten advised the burning, Erfurt and Heidelberg, suggested further investigation, Reuchlin, in a clear, discriminating, wise, and tolerant judgment, decided against burning.[2] He wished to preserve, besides the Hebrew Scriptures, which were exempt from burning as a matter of course, the Talmud, the Cabbala, the biblical glosses and commentaries, the prayer and hymn books, and all philosophical and secular writings, of the Jews; but the *Nizahon* and the *Toledoth*

[1] In books entitled: *Judenspiegel; Judenbeichte; Osternbuch; Judenfeind*, 1507–'09.

[2] "*Rathschlag, ob man den Juden alle ihre Bücher nehmen, abthun und verbrennen soll*," Stuttgart, Nov. 6, 1510.

Jeshu might, after due examination and legal decision, be destroyed, because they contained blasphemies against Christ, his mother, and the apostles. In conclusion he advises the emperor to order every university in Germany to establish two chairs of Hebrew for ten years.

Pfefferkorn attacked him violently in his *Handspiegel (Hand Mirror)*, which he industriously sold, with the help of his wife, at the fair in Frankfurt, 1511.[1] Reuchlin answered in his *Augenspiegel (Spectacles)* in the same year. Pfefferkorn appeared again on the arena with his *Brandspiegel (Burning Glass)*, and secured an imperial mandate to the magistrate of Frankfurt to prevent the sale of the *Augenspiegel*. Reuchlin took up the pen in self-defence (1513), and, forgetting his dignity, called his calumniators "biting dogs," "raving wolves," "foxes," "hogs," "horses," and "asses," and "children of the devil." Erasmus and Pirkheimer thought that he ought not to have immortalized such a monster as Pfefferkorn, or to have done it with more moderation.

The theological faculty of Cologne, which consisted mostly of Dominicans, sided with the anti-Jewish intolerance, and denounced forty-three sentences of Reuchlin as heretical (1513). The Paris University likewise condemned him (1514). He was cited before the tribunal of the Inquisition by Hoogstraten, but he appealed to the pope. Hoogstraten had the satisfaction to see the *Augenspiegel* publicly burnt at Cologne, February 10, 1514, as a book that smacked of heresy, was friendly to the Jews, irreverent to the holy doctrine of the Church, and scandalous.

When Pope Leo X. received the appeal, he appointed a commission at Speier. This commission cleared Reuchlin of the charge of heresy, and condemned Hoogstraten to silence and the payment of the costs, amounting to 111 guilders of Rhenish gold (April 24, 1514). But the indomitable Hoogstraten, well provided with money, proceeded to Rome, and through the influence of Sylvester Prierias, the Master

[1] He called Reuchlin a *Judengönner*, *Ohrenbläser*, *Stubenstencker*, *Beutelfeger*, *Hinterschützen*, *Seitenstecher*, etc., and charged him with having taken bribes from the Jews.

of the Sacred Palace (who came out in 1517 as a champion against Luther), he secured, after a long delay, a papal annullation of the Speier decision and a condemnation of Reuchlin to the payment of costs and to eternal silence (June 23, 1520).

Reuchlin appealed *a papa male informato ad papam melius informandum* without success, but was left undisturbed. He had too much respect for the Church and the papacy, and was too old to rebel. He showed no sympathy with the Reformation, which in the meantime had broken out at Wittenberg. He even turned away from Melanchthon, his grand-nephew, to whom he had already bequeathed his library, and cancelled the bequest. He prevented, however, Dr. Eck, during his brief sojourn at Ingolstadt, from burning the writings of Luther. He closed his labors as professor of Greek and Hebrew in the University of Tübingen, and died at Stuttgart, June 30, 1522, at the age of sixty-seven years and four months.

By the papal decision of 1520 the obscurantism of the Dominicans had obtained a temporary triumph; but in the meantime the spirit of reform had already seized the helm of progress. This is evident from the large number of pamphlets and letters in favor of Reuchlin which appeared between 1509 and 1522 on this controversy. He prepared a collection of testimonies of Erasmus, Hutten, Mutian, Peutinger, Pirkheimer, Busch, Vadian, Glarean, Melanchthon, Œcolampadius, Hedio, etc., in all forty-three names of eminent scholars who were classed as Reuchlinists.[1]

[1] *Clarorum* [in the second edition, *Illustrium*] *Virorum—Epistolæ hebraicæ, græcæ et latinæ ad Io. Reuchlinum*, etc., 1514; new ed. 1519.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE EPISTLES OF OBSCURE MEN, AND THE TRIUMPH OF REUCHLIN.

Among the writings of the Reuchlinists against the opponents of the new learning, the *Epistolæ Virorum Obscurorum (Dunkelmänner)* occupy the most prominent place.

These Epistles are a fictitious correspondence of Dominican monks who expose their own old-fogyism, ignorance, and vulgarity to public ridicule in their barbarous German-Latin jargon, which is called Kitchen-Latin (*Küchenlatein*), and which admits of no adequate translation. The epistles are full of wrath against Reuchlin, ("who in *Hebrew* is called Capnio!") and his sympathizers. They appeared anonymously, but were chiefly written by Ulrich von Hutten and Crotus Rubeanus (Johannes Jäger).[1]

The imitation was so clever that some Dominican monks at first believed the epistles to be genuine, and excused the offensive Latin by the form of the thoughts. So Erasmus reports. The authors were friends of Luther, but Crotus afterwards fell out with the Reformation, like Erasmus and other humanists.

[1] The first series was printed at Hagenau (in Alsace), 1515, the second (in opposition to Pfefferkorn's *Defensio*) at Basel, 1517. Modern ed. by Münch, Lips., 1827, and the best by Böcking in the 6th and 7th vols. of his *Opera Hutteni* (Lips., 1869). Böcking gives also a historico-philological commentary and the *Defensio* of Pfefferkorn. A German translation by Dr. Wilhelm Binder: *Briefe von Dunkelmännern an Magister Gratius aus Deventer, Professor der schönen Wissenschaften in Cöln*, Stuttgart, 1876. For a good analysis, see Hagen, *l.c.*, I., 440 *sqq.*; Strauss, *l.c.*, 165 *sqq.*; and Geiger, p. 518 *sqq.* It is impossible to appreciate the humor and irony of these Epistles without a knowledge of German. Strauss does them too much honor when he compares them to Don Quixote. The language reminds me of the German-English jargon

About the same time appeared "The Triumph of Dr. Reuchlin," a poem with a curious woodcut, which represents Reuchlin's triumphal procession on his return to his native Pforzheim, and his victory over Hoogstraten and Pfefferkorn with their four idols of superstition, barbarism, ignorance, and envy.[1]

Erasmus, who knew no Hebrew and cared still less for rabbinical literature, showed nevertheless his sympathy for the persecuted Hebrew scholar after his death, in a vision entitled *Apotheosis Reuchlini Capnionis*, where Reuchlin is welcomed by St. Jerome in heaven and enrolled, without leave of the pope, in the number of saints, as patron of philology.

Such sensational pamphlets and caricatures prepared the way for the more serious and effective warfare of Luther, who had just then begun to absorb the attention of Christendom by the controversy against the papal indulgences as carried on by a Dominican monk and charlatan.

of the ballads of Hans Breitmann. The names of the correspondents and their friends are ludicrous, as *Langschneider*, *Dollkopf*, *Hafenmus*, *Scheerschleifer*, *Federleser*, *Federfuchser*, *Kannegiesser*, *Kachelofen*, *Kalb*, *Löffelholz*, *Kuckuck*, *Schaafmaul*, *Schweinfurth*, *Wurst*. The definite article is rendered by *hic*, the indefinite by *unus*; every sentence is thought in German, and literally turned or upset into outlandish Latin. The amorous propensities of the pious monks are not spared. The whole tone is vulgar. Take the following specimen from Schlauraff's rhymed description of a journey to the humanists of Germany, and to the learned printer Wolfgang Angst in Hagenau, who handled him very roughly:

> "*Et ivi hinc ad Hagenau;* do wurden mir die Augen blau,
> *Per te Wolfgange Angst*, Gott gib, dass du hangst,
> *Quia me cum baculo percusseras in oculo.*"

[1] *Eleutherii Byzeni Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini*, 1518, probably printed at Hagenau. The supposed author is Ulrich von Hutten, or Busch, probably the former. See Strauss, *l.c.*, p. 155 *sqq*. Geiger gives a fac-simile of the picture, p. 522 *sq*.

CHAPTER XXX.

ERASMUS AND THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

The literature on Erasmus and his relation to the Reformation see in Schaff's *Church History*, Vol. VI., 399 and 421 *sqq*.

What Reuchlin did for Hebrew learning, Erasmus, who was twelve years younger, accomplished for the more important cause of Greek learning. He established the Greek pronunciation which goes by his name; he edited and translated Greek classics and Church fathers, and made them familiar to Northern scholars; and he furnished the key to the critical study of the Greek Testament, the *Magna Charta* of Christianity.

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) was the prince of humanists and the most influential and useful scholar of his age. He ruled with undisputed sway as monarch of the realm of letters in the sixteenth, as Petrarca did in the fourteenth, and Voltaire in the eighteenth century. He combined brilliant genius with classical and biblical learning, keen wit, and elegant taste. He rarely wrote a dull line. He travelled extensively in the Netherlands, France, England, Italy, Germany, and settled at last in Switzerland, where he felt most at home with his publishers and congenial scholars. He was a genuine cosmopolitan, and stood in correspondence with scholars of all countries, who consulted him as an oracle. His books had the popularity and circulation of modern novels, especially his *Praise of Folly* (1510), and his *Familiar Colloquies* (1519).[1]

Erasmus stands between the Middle Ages and modern times, and belongs as much to the history of Protestantism as to the history of Catholicism, yet wholly to neither. In

[1] See an account of his works in Schaff's *Church History*, Vol. VI., 415–421.

some respects he anticipated modern rationalism. He resembles Laurentius Valla, his forerunner in biblical and historical criticism. He was a leading factor in the emancipation of the mind of Europe from the bondage of ignorance and superstition, and a lifeless formalism in religion.

He came in direct contact with the Reformation, first in a friendly, then in a hostile spirit. "He laid the egg which Luther hatched"; but he disowned the chicken. He desired a reformation by gradual education and gentle persuasion within the old Church; but he disapproved of the violent measures of Luther and Zwingli, and feared that they would do much harm to the cause of learning and refined culture, which he had more at heart than religion. He never intended to separate from Rome any more than his English friends John Colet and Thomas More. He thought it better to endure corruption than to run the risk of schism and rebellion. He believed in gentle medicine, but shrank from the operations of surgery.

Erasmus lived in scholarly simplicity, observed a strict diet, and carefully nursed his frail body; but suffered nevertheless much from the stone and gout. His moral character was above reproach, but he lacked courage, freely indulged in cutting satire, was morbidly sensitive and vain, and spoiled by flattery. He was ordained to the priesthood, and remained unmarried, but had no parish or public office, and preferred independence. He was offered a cardinal's hat, but declined it. He lived on the income from his books, which in those days was very small, and on presents and irregular pensions from patrons to whom he had dedicated his works. Since 1516 he had the title of counsellor of King Charles of Spain, with an annuity of four hundred guilders. He died without priest or sacrament, but invoking the mercy of Jesus, and was buried in the Protestant cathedral of Basel. He bequeathed his property of seven thousand ducats, precious gifts, and books to Professor Bonifacius Amerbach and other literary friends.[1]

[1] His will is preserved in the University Library of Basel, and has been published by Dr. Sieber, the librarian (*Das Testament des Erasmus vom 22 Januar,*

Erasmus was essentially a scholar and an illuminator within the Catholic Church. In this character his services were invaluable. He was a man of thought, not of action. The library was his sanctuary. He was ambitious of praise, but not of wealth or rank. He would rather work for a month at expounding St. Paul, he said, than waste a day in quarrelling. He loved the comfort of his quiet study and the company of his books above all the pleasures and treasures of the world. He promoted classical, patristic, and biblical studies, and made them serviceable to a revival of Christian life.

His most important and useful work was the publication of the Greek Testament. The first edition appeared in 1516 at Basel, just one year before the publication of the Ninety-Five Theses of Luther at Wittenberg. It contains the Greek text in one column and his own Latin version in the other (224 folio pages), and his suggestive Annotations (672 pages in all).[1] It was hurried through the press in order to anticipate the publication of the New Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot, which was actually printed in 1514, but did not appear till 1520 after receiving the papal imprimatur. Erasmus did not even take the trouble of copying the codices, but sent them, with numerous marginal corrections, to the printer.[2]

1527); together with the *Inventarium über die Hinterlassenschaft des Erasmus vom 22 Juli, 1536* (Basel, 1889). The inventory contains a list of his furniture, wardrobe, napkins, nightcaps, cushions, goblets, silver vessels, gold rings, and money (722 gold guilders, 900 gold crowns, etc.). His library is conditionally offered to "Herr von Lasko," the nobleman and Reformer of Poland, for 200 guilders (*"soverr er die will haben"*). Erasmus left three wills, 1527, 1535, and 1536; the last is dated five months before his death and superseded the others. In the will of 1527 he had made provision for a complete edition of his works by Froben and directed that 1500 copies be printed, and that twenty, as "author's copies," be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and other friends.

[1] See a fac-simile of the first and last pages in Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament*, third edition (1888), pp. 532 and 533.

[2] "*Præcipitatum fuit verius quam editum*," says Erasmus himself in the Preface. The second edition also contains several pages of errors, some of which have affected Luther's version. The third edition first inserts the spurious passage of the three heavenly witnesses (1 John 5 : 7) from the Codex Montfortianus of the sixteenth century.

He used for the first edition three manuscripts of the twelfth century, which are still preserved in the University Library of Basel, and retain the marginal notes of Erasmus and the red lines of the printer to indicate the corresponding pages of the printed edition. The first manuscript contains the four Gospels,[1] the second the Acts and Epistles.[2] The manuscript of the Apocalypse was borrowed from Reuchlin, and disappeared, but was rediscovered, in 1861, by Dr. Delitzsch in the library of Œttingen-Wallerstein at Maihingen, Bavaria.[3] It was defective on the last leaf, and supplemented by Erasmus, who translated the last six verses from the Latin Vulgate into indifferent Greek, for he was a better Latinist than Hellenist. Erasmus might have used an older and better MS. of the Gospels, an uncial of the eighth century, called E (Basileensis), which belonged to the Ordo Prædicatorum, and was transferred to the University Library in 1559, but either was not known as to its value, or could not be secured for the purpose from the Dominicans.[4]

Erasmus had a religious and practical as well as philological and critical interest in this edition of the New Testament in its original language. He expressed in the Preface the wish that the theologians might study Christianity from its fountain-head, and that the Scriptures might be translated into every tongue and put into the hands of every reader, to give strength and comfort to the husbandman at his plough, to the weaver at his shuttle, to the traveller on his journey.

[1] Marked "*Quatuor Evangelia Græce*, Sec. XII. Cod. Prædicatorum (Græc. 7)."

[2] Marked "*Acta et Epistolæ Catholicæ et Paulinæ*, Sec. XII. Codex Amerbach (Græce 9)." These two codices were rebound, and, in the process, some marginal corrections were cut off.

[3] See Franz Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, Heft. I. *Die Entstellungen des Textes des Apokalypse, nachgewiesen aus dem verloren geglaubten Codex Reuchlins.* Leipzig, 1861.

[4] The last is the conjecture of the present librarian, Dr. Sieber, who kindly showed me again all three MSS. on my last visit to Basel in July, 1890. The Codex Basileensis was compared by Mill, Wetstein, Tischendorf (1843), Müller, Tregelles (1846), and Gregory (1882). See Gregory's *Prolegomena N. T. Gr.*, I., 372 *sqq.*

His notes and paraphrases on the New Testament (except the Apocalypse) were translated into English, and a copy given to every parish.

Zwingli, an enthusiastic admirer of Erasmus, copied the Pauline Epistles from the first Greek edition with his own hand in the convent at Einsiedeln, in 1516. From the second edition of 1519, Luther prepared his German translation in the Wartburg, 1522, and Tyndale his English version, 1525.[1]

Thus the New Testament in the vernacular became the chief promoter of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, and Great Britain.

[1] Erasmus published in all five editions of the Greek Testament—1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. Besides, more than thirty unauthorized reprints appeared in Venice, Strassburg, Basel, Paris, etc. He made several improvements, but his entire apparatus never exceeded eight MSS. The fourth and the fifth editions are the basis of the *textus receptus*, which ruled supreme till the time of Lachmann and Tregelles. See Schaff, *l.c.*, p. 231 *sq.*

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.[1]

By Rev. HENRY WOODWARD HULBERT,
Professor of History, Marietta College, Ohio.

Fruitful historical research to-day is, first and last, a study of original documents and other contemporary monuments. The successful historian must abandon the time-beaten track of artistic development and take the sterner path of exact science—inductive science. If he have any genius, it must hereafter be a genius for labor. He must leave behind him the allurements of the sunny plains, and must plunge into the great forest belt with its confusing paths, its almost insurmountable barriers, patiently struggling on, happy if some pioneer going before has blazed a road, and led on by the hope that although he himself may leave his bones in the wilderness some other toiler will break through at last to the bright uplands beyond.

Among the original documents which claim attention in any historical research there is one, which has not received due attention, and yet one, the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. A knowledge of the lay of the land, the theatre of action, the geography, is indispensable to thorough work in any phase of history. All knowledge of an historic period that is not instinct with the life of that period, that does not throb in sympathy with that life, that does not enter into its action heartily, is as sounding brass

[1] This paper was condensed by the author from a much longer paper, and is of necessity only a brief *résumé* of the subject in hand. Professor Hulbert presented at the meeting of the Society a number of skeleton maps illustrating phases of the geographical spread of the Christian Church.

and a tinkling cymbal. That the historic imagination may be enabled to enter into the details of the life and action of any age, a thorough study of the environment of that life and action is necessary.

There is a singular fascination and satisfaction in the study of the geographical aspects of history, in that, while there is an unchanging substratum of mountain and plain and river and sea, there is also a constant variation and evolution occasioned by the changing fortunes of the race. The physical conditions act on man, and man in turn reacts on the territory he controls. There is not a moment when the development is arrested. Marshes and sea-wastes are changed into *terra firma*, and, again, the water claims its own ; deserts become fertile plains and fertile plains become deserts ; races are swept irresistibly along, absorbing every people that lie in the way, and again are swallowed up and lost to view ; languages spread and contract and spread again ; religions expand and die away. Thus it is plain that geography, historically considered, is a thing of life and growth, and is vitally connected with the life and growth of man. It is an original source from which we can learn indispensable facts connected with that life and growth.

Historical geography has of late years become an integral part of the historical science. Recent investigations have opened up the subject and a solid beginning has been made —but it is only a beginning. It is clearly recognized that the land itself as it appears at different periods is one of those invaluable original documents upon which history is built, and no stone is being left unturned to clear away mysteries and to bring to our aid a realism hitherto unknown to the science. German scholars have taken the lead in this, as in so many other branches of investigation. From England we have Professor Bryce's epoch-making book, " The Holy Roman Empire," with its wide grouping of historical facts, and from the pen of Professor E. A. Freeman the still more elaborate treatise on " The Historical Geography of Europe." What has been done partially for Europe must be done for the whole world. America has, as yet, achieved little or

nothing in this important line, and the time has come when we can no longer afford to neglect so vital a department.

But the special branch of this vast and complicated theme of historical geography which interests us most and which I desire briefly to bring to your attention is that which deals with the Christian Church. The ideal unity of that institution, as outlined in the solemn prayerful words of its Master, gives a peculiar interest to this branch of the subject. Christianity at its very inception was made universal, and its whole progress and expansion lie in the white light of history. The globe was made the theatre of a campaign. We can watch the marching and countermarching of the battalions and mark the progress at every stage.

Our eyes rest first upon that little group at Jerusalem that made up the *Pentecostal Church.* Its spread was conditioned by the extent and character of the Roman Empire, by the municipal genius of that empire, its great highways by land and sea; conditioned by the commercial routes and the track of armies outside the bounds of civilization; conditioned by the spread of languages—Aramaic, Greek, and Latin,—and, most important of all, conditioned by the whereabouts of the seven million Jews massed in Syria, Babylonia, and Egypt, and scattered everywhere throughout the Empire and far beyond its boundaries. The Jewish prayer-house was an established institution throughout the known world. After a period of patient waiting the Divine Energy came and the *Apostolic Church,* no longer centripetal, but centrifugal, went forth to preach and suffer and conquer. The close of the first century showed the practical force of the new faith, which was, as yet, hardly distinguished from Judaism. Geographically it had touched all parts of the Mediterranean and was beginning to alarm far-sighted emperors.

The *Ante-Nicene Church* presents great difficulties to the student of historical geography. Persecuted Christianity was in hiding, and, besides a few general and rather rhetorical statements in the Church fathers, we have to rely upon the broken records of infrequent Church councils and upon more or less legendary martyrologies. The Church became in the mean-

while thoroughly municipal in its constitution, and, in spite of savage opposition, more and more penetrated all classes of Roman civilization until at the opening of the fourth century it had ten million votaries.

Our eye next sweeps over the map of the *Imperial Church*, whose protector was the emperor and whose missionaries marched under the Roman eagles. The municipal idea was absorbed in the imperial. The forced unity of the Church tended to the expansion of that body by driving more or less heretical bodies out into the surrounding heathen world. Foreign missionary work began in earnest, and the territory under Christian influence accumulated north and east and south and west. Ireland, Scotland, the tribes along the Rhine and Danube, the Armenians, Iberians, and the converts of the Nestorians in the far East, as well as Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia, are to be counted as gains to the area of Christendom.

Then follows what may be designated as the *Barbarian Church*, or the Church of the transitional period between 575 and 750 A.D., during which the half-converted hordes of barbarians swept down from the north and east and put in jeopardy the very life of the Church. The East and West were growing apart, and the Latin Church reached its stereotyped form. Pagan England was reclaimed and Gallic, Irish, and English missionaries did valiant work in German lands. The Saracens swarmed from their desert home under the banners of Islam and threw themselves with overwhelming force upon Asiatic and African Christianity and even pushed through Spain and over the Pyrenees. So rapid were the changes in the geography of the known world in this period that one map cannot adequately express them all.

The same may be said of the following period—that of the *Feudal Church* (750–1050). The great losses of the Barbarian period were more than made up for in this era. Southern France, the larger part of the Spanish peninsula, and the Mediterranean islands were reclaimed from the Muslim. Normans, Belgians, Frisians, Saxons, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Magyars, Moravians or Bohemians, Bulgari-

ans, and Russians became Christians, as did also the colonies in far-away Iceland and Greenland.

The geographical spread of Christianity during the next period—that of the *Crusading Church* (1050–1500)—was almost altogether military in character. The appeal everywhere was to the sword. It was a desperate fight for life with Islam and paganism in Spain, Sicily, Syria and Palestine, Asia Minor, the Balkan peninsula, in Southeastern Russia, and along the Baltic. The great nationalities of Europe were carved out and modern political life began. The more important monastic brotherhoods arose and the military orders soon followed. Spain once more was gained for Christendom. The Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Sword pushed up along the Baltic, and the Wends, Livland, Lithuania, and Pomerania were won over, and Russian Christianity was met more than half-way by the militant faith from the west.

So much for the successes—the losses were more serious. The Mongol turned out to be a far greater menace to Christendom than the Saracen. The Crusades proper checked the onslaught of the Seljuk Turk, but on the whole weakened the Eastern Church at its centre (Constantinople) to such an extent that the more formidable Ottoman under the banner of Islam made an easy conquest of Asia Minor and of Southeastern Europe.

In the meanwhile another Mongol horde, pagan as to religion, had been striking Christendom farther to the north. The savage Genghis Khan made his way to Central Europe, and retiring left the "Golden Horde" on the Volga. The desperate struggle of Slav against Mongol lasted more than two centuries, and the Russians learned a lesson of hatred toward the Turk which still rankles and will be cherished to the bitter end.

Gains were also made to the geography of Christendom in the Canaries, Madeiras, and the Azores; and, as the Crusading era of the Church came to an end, a new world burst upon the vision of the Church, and the full geographical problem of the world lay before it.

The Crusading Church was followed by the *Colonizing Church* (1500–1700). The great discoveries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought a geographical expansion unknown before. The gain to Christendom by the year 1700 in South, Central, and North America, and in Siberia, was over twelve million square miles. Lapland was effectively reached. The Capuchins and Jesuits began their missionary career. Besides the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in the East Indies, which were succeeded by the Dutch, Xavier worked in India and Japan, and Ricci in China. The Ottoman was checked in Europe. By the close of this period all the great discoveries had been made. Christendom had again far more than reclaimed lost ground, and as a new industrial era came in sight it had gathered a headway that was to prove irresistible.

It is difficult to designate the last period in the expansion of Christendom so as to give it its universal characteristic. We might call it the Industrial Church, in so far as commerce has been the main agent in the spread of Christian law and order. Viewed in the light of the special effort the Church itself has made to extend its boundaries, we might more appropriately call it the *Organized Church* (1700-1891). Although the Propaganda was established at Rome as early as 1622, and in 1649 the Long Parliament legalized a "Corporation for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," and the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" was established in England in 1698, yet during the 18th and 19th centuries all the religious bodies of Christendom were aroused one by one to attempt the conversion of heathen, Mohammedans, and Jews. By 1732 the little Moravian colony at Herrnhut was thoroughly organized as a missionary church. Although political aggrandizement has never ceased to be a motive which has constantly increased the area of Christendom, the zeal to bring the nations to Christ by an appeal to the simple Gospel has predominated during this era. The great missionary societies, beginning with the Baptist Missionary Society of England (1792), have followed one after the other, until to-day the

whole world is systematically parcelled out and the Gospel is being preached in every prevailing dialect. The great advances have been made in the interior of the continents. North America as a whole has been added to Christendom. South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and many Pacific island groups, have been the substantial gains.

We are just about entering upon a new era, in which the *United Church* will move forward to conquer the world to Christ. Differences of dogma will be more and more forgotten, in view of the importance of the work to be done and of the responsibility under which we rest to do it quickly. The science of missions will follow these years of experiment, and the prospect has never been more hopeful than it is now.

Such briefly is one phase of this intricate theme of the Historical Geography of the Christian Church—a brief chronicle of its expansion. How difficult it is to get at the exact facts in many of the periods has already been hinted at, but there is an unfortunate indefiniteness to every period, and the mass of the work remains to be done. Exploration within the limits of the territory of the old Roman Empire has only given an edge to our appetite for more exact knowledge, especially concerning the early centuries. In the ante-Nicene period there were probably 1,800 cities in the Empire containing Christian churches, but we have exact information concerning only 525, and a score or more of these cannot be located.

The story of the expansion of the Nestorian Church in Central Asia is almost a complete blank. In the Levant foundation work must still be done before the Crusades can receive a satisfactory treatment. Syria is dotted all over with the massive ruins of crusading castles, only a few of which have received any attention, and none have been compelled to render up their full secret. The story of the expansion of the Greek Church through Russia and Siberia is very ill defined, while the invaluable missionary documents in the Propaganda building at Rome and in the archives of many Protestant missionary societies have never been impar-

tially examined. Not only has the necessary preliminary work not been done, but the obstacles in the way of doing it in many cases are insuperable. Even if we had men fitted to undertake it, some of the most neglected lands are closed to effective exploration and excavation. We must be content to pick up a fact here and a fact there, and cheer our hearts with the thought that doors of entrance were never opening so rapidly as they are opening to-day.

The vastness of the field to be covered appears when we note the intricateness with which political, social, commercial, and religious affairs are interwoven. The Church has entered so profoundly into every department of human life, that political and commercial geography must go hand in hand with the geography of religions.

A thorough treatment of the historical geography of the Christian Church involves an adequate treatment of the historical geography of all the great religions with which Christianity has come in contact, and the geographical records of these religions, at their best, are as obscure as the obscurest periods of the geography of Christendom.

A satisfactory treatment of our theme would embrace a detailed statement of the geographical movements within the Church—the rise, expansion, and decay of the various heretical sects, and their territorial relations to the main body of believers.

It may be said that even the expressive power of modern cartography would be inadequate to handle such an intricate theme—but much can be done. The success of the splendid edition of the early Church fathers now appearing under the editorial care of our honored President is an indication of what can be achieved in young America. Has not the time arrived when the historical geography of the Christian Church can be adequately set forth in a series of maps which could do for the Church at least what Professor Freeman has done for Europe?

THE ANABAPTISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE ANABAPTISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By Rev. HENRY SWEETSER BURRAGE, D.D.
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I.

RECENT STUDIES OF THE ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT.

New methods of historical study are securing important results. The demand now is not only that those who write history shall go back to the sources, but that by a thorough examination of the materials which the sources furnish, and by the employment of sound canons of criticism, the facts, so far as possible, shall be obtained. Because of this demand not a little of what has hitherto been regarded as veritable history has been discovered to be untenable and misleading. In no field of historic research are these results more conspicuous than in that which has been traversed in recent years by those who have directed their attention to the history of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century.

Cornelius, a Roman Catholic professor, formerly at Bonn, now of Munich, a learned and painstaking investigator, led the way to a broader and more scholarly treatment of this great movement in his *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs*, the first volume of which was published in 1855 and the second in 1860, an unfinished work, yet breaking the road over which others have passed in securing for the Anabaptists at least some measure of the justice for which they have so long waited in vain. His *Die Niederländischen*

Wiedertäufer appeared in 1869. Egli, formerly pastor at Aussersihl, near Zürich, now professor extraordinary of church history in the University of Zürich, followed, in 1878, with his valuable monograph, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer zur Reformationszeit*, and in 1879 with his even more important work, *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519–1533*, a treasure-house of materials for the study of the history of the Swiss Anabaptists. In 1880, Dr. Ludwig Keller, director of the State Archives at Münster, a most diligent and enthusiastic investigator, with rare opportunities for an examination of the sources, published his *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer und ihres Reichs zu Münster*. Other works by the same author rapidly followed: *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer* [Hans Denck], in 1882; *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien*, in 1884; *Die Waldenser und die deutschen Bibelübersetzungen*, in 1886; *Zur Geschichte der altevangelischen Gemeinden*, in 1887; and *Johann von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation*, in 1888. In these later volumes the author aims to connect the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century with the pre-Reformation evangelical churches. Dr. Keller, who belongs to the German Reformed Church, has been bitterly assailed in certain quarters since the publication of these volumes. But while one may not be able to assent to all of his deductions, his writings furnish abundant evidence that he is a lover of truth, and is sincerely seeking to discover and establish the truth. Especially worthy of note is Dr. Joseph Beck's *Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn, betreffend deren Schicksale in der Schweiz, Salzburg, Ober- und Nieder-Oesterreich, Mähren, Tirol, Böhmen, Süd-Deutschland, Ungarn, Siebenburgen, und Süd-Russland in der Zeit von 1526 bis 1785*, published in 1883 by the Historical Commission of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Dr. Beck is the Court Counsellor of the Austrian Supreme Court of Judicature and Cassation, and in this magnificent work he has brought together from many sources a vast amount of materials, largely chronicles, pertaining to the Anabaptist movement, to which he has added a valuable introduction

and many helpful and learned foot-notes. In 1884 appeared *Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schweizerischen Reformations-Kirchen*, edited by Professor Friedrich Nippold. Part III., by Gottfried Strasser, pastor at Grindelwald, is entitled *Der Schweizerische Anabaptismus zur Zeit der Reformation*, and is the work of a scholar whose interest in his theme has led to a careful and thoughtful study of the sources. In 1885, Richard Nitsch, a Roman Catholic, published his *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in der Schweiz zur Reformationszeit*. While his point of view is not one of sympathy with the Anabaptists, he aims to present the facts of the movement accurately. In the same year Friedrich Otto Zur Linden published his *Melchior Hofmann, ein Prophet der Wiedertäufer*. The author undertook this work at the request of Professor Nippold, of Jena, and he has produced a monograph that is worthy of a place with the valuable works to which reference has already been made. If the author presents Hofmann in a more favorable light than the traditional writers, it is not because of any sympathy with the Anabaptist movement, but from a praiseworthy willingness to follow the facts whithersoever they lead.

In this country attention has been called to the Anabaptist movement by the writer of this paper in a volume entitled *The Anabaptists of Switzerland*, 1882. Several review articles with reference to the Anabaptist movement have also appeared, among them "Balthazar Hubmeyer," by Rev. W. W. Everts, *Baptist Review*, April, 1881; "The Moravian Baptists," by Prof. A. H. Newman, *Baptist Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1889, and "The Anabaptists in Switzerland," by Dr. Philip Schaff, *Baptist Quarterly Review*, July, 1889. The latter says: "The history of the Anabaptists of the Reformation period has yet to be written from an impartial, unsectarian standpoint." A beginning, however, has been made. It is the purpose of this paper briefly to present the Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century in the light of these recent investigations.

II.

BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The beginnings of the Anabaptist movement are commonly connected with the fanatical outbreak at Zwickau, in Saxony, in 1520. Thomas Münzer, who came to Zwickau that year, having accepted the pastorate of one of the churches, had already joined the reform movement; but here, finding himself more in sympathy with the Zwickau Prophets than with Luther, he soon developed radical tendencies. These were largely social and political, however, not religious. The wrongs of the oppressed peasants occupied his thoughts, and he became a leader of a crusade that resulted in the Peasants' War. It is true that in Münzer and his associates opposition to infant baptism is discernible, but as a theory rather than as a fact. Münzer never re-baptized any one, and only a short time before his tragic end, in a conversation with Œcolampadius at Basel, he said that he had not departed from the usual custom of the Church, except that he baptized only once in two or three months, before the whole congregation, the infants born in that interval.[1] In his intercourse with the Anabaptist leaders in Switzerland at this time, Münzer did not meet with the welcome he had anticipated. Plainly his aim and theirs were not the same. The Swiss Anabaptists were in sympathy with the oppressed peasants, but they would right their wrongs not by an appeal to arms, but by restoring primitive Christianity. In a letter to Münzer, written after his departure, having mentioned some things in which they were not in agreement, with a delicate allusion to Münzer's practice as it would seem, Grebel and his associates said: "Since you have expressed yourself against infant baptism, we hope you do not sin against the eternal word, wisdom, and command of God, according to which believers only are to be baptized, and that you decline to baptize infants." Indeed, in answer to those who at the time of the

[1] Herzog, *Das Leben Œkolampads*, S. 302.

Reformation ascribed the origin of the Anabaptist movement to Münzer and the Zwickau Prophets, the Anabaptists often and energetically protested that they did not spring from them, and that they had no sympathy with then in their revolutionary purposes.

Nor is the origin of the Anabaptist movement to be found in the earlier reform parties. Dorner says that Anabaptism in the sixteenth century was essentially bound up with pre-Reformation principles. "All the different anti-ecclesiastical tendencies," he tells us, "which, for the most part, with a dualistic coloring, had secretly pervaded the life of the people in the Middle Ages, got vent after the reform excitement issued from Wittenberg, and obtained a wider extension under the new movement."[1] Without doubt there were then at work among the people all over Central Europe influences proceeding from reform movements in earlier times. Evangelizing agencies, whose origin we can clearly trace to reformers before the Reformation, were in operation long before Luther appeared. They were in operation then. The Mystics, for example, were everywhere, especially in Germany. Luther himself was profoundly influenced by them. Of that noble work of the mystical school, "The German Theology," he once said that, next to the Bible and the writings of Augustine, he had learned more concerning God, Christ, man, and all things from that little volume, which he erroneously ascribed to Tauler, than from any other book. But the great movement of which Luther was the head, did not have its origin in the reformatory work of the Mystics. As little can we find in their work, or in the work of any of the old evangelical parties that preceded the Reformation, the origin of the Anabaptist movement, even though in some of them we discover reformatory principles which re-appeared and were made prominent in connection with the spread of Anabaptism.

Least of all are we able with Ritschl (*Geschichte des Pietismus in der reformirten Kirche*, 1880, S. 22 *ff.*) to find the origin of Anabaptism in the principles of the Franciscan

[1] *Geschichte d. protestantischen Theologie*, S. 132.

Order. As a justification of this singular hypothesis, Ritschl appeals to an expression of Bullinger, who says that among the apostolic Baptists some were like the new Bare-footed monks or Franciscans. But evidently by these words Bullinger meant only that there were certain peculiarities which were common to the Bare-footed monks and the Anabaptists. Among other things, they were alike in that they made prominent non-conformity with the world, were opposed to the bearing of arms, refused to take oaths, etc. But there is no evidence whatever that these peculiarities were derived by the Anabaptists from the source which Ritschl suggests, and certainly his hypothesis has no explanation of the institution of Anabaptism.

Rather was Anabaptism a child of the Reformation,[1] and its beginnings are to be found in connection with the reform movement in Switzerland. In this movement Grebel, Mantz, Hetzer, Reublin, Stumpf, and others stood at first with Zwingli in his opposition to the Roman Catholic Church. They accepted his principle, namely, to reject in doctrine and practice whatever the Scriptures do not enjoin ; but at length, in the development of the reform movement, they applied the principle in ways that Zwingli had not foreseen. The idea of a church composed of believers only was suggested by Stumpf to Zwingli in the summer or autumn of 1523. Whether the idea originated with Stumpf, or not, is unknown. Certainly it was shared by Stumpf's radical associates. Early in the reform movement they had separated from the Church of Rome, and very naturally they were

[1] *Berner Beiträge*, S. 237 : "Von der hohen Werthschätzung der Schrift aus, in Folge deren die ersten Anabaptisten auf die urchristlichen Prinzipien zurückgriffen, erklären sich leicht alle die verschiedenen Forderungen, welche sie aufgestellt haben. Es ist also nicht falsch, wenn wir sagten, der Anabaptismus habe mit mittelalterlichen Richtungen die gleiche Grundtendenz. Aber Nachweis einer äussern historischen Verbindung zwischen der Wiedertäufern und ihren Vorgängern braucht es nicht. Auch darf man nicht vergessen, dass ja die ganze Reformation mit jenen Richtungen, die man ihre Vorläufer nennt, im Zusammenhang steht; und so ist es das kürzeste und zutreffendste, wenn man sagt, der Anabaptismus sei ein Kind der Reformation ; und speziell der schweizerischen Anabaptismus ein Kind der schweizerischen (zwinglischen) Reformation."

busy with the question, What should take its place? Following the principle they had adopted they turned to the New Testament, and in the discussion that followed they claimed that the apostolic churches were composed of believers only, and that a union of believers and unbelievers as in the Roman Catholic Church, or in the new State Church, was unscriptural. Zwingli was urged to accept this view, but he was immovable. He believed that its influence would be harmful to the work of reform. Separation would not cure the evils of the Church. Turning to the Scriptures in discussing with the advocates of this view, he appealed to the words of Christ, "He that is not against us is for us"; also to the parable of the tares and the wheat; claiming that such a separation as was proposed would not be in harmony with the teachings of the parable. Besides, if they were now to separate the tares from the wheat, what would remain for the angels to do at the end of the world?

Felix Mantz, who had been associated with Zwingli from the commencement of the movement for Church reform, also endeavored, in the interest of Church unity, to induce Zwingli to adopt the new view.

Meanwhile the radicals advanced to another position. They claimed that infant baptism had no warrant in the Scriptures, and assailed the practice as a human invention. Zwingli had formerly been troubled with doubts on this point, and for awhile he entertained the view that it would be better not to baptize children until they were somewhat advanced in years.[1] In connection with Grebel, Hubmeier, and others, he had previously taken this position. Nor did he assail it now when the radicals announced their position with reference to infant baptism.[2] But he was very soon led to abandon his doubts. As Dorner says:[3] "He saw that the setting aside of infant baptism was the same as setting

[1] *Werke*, ii., S. 245.

[2] "Zwingli und die andern Prädicanten begriffen diesen Eifer anfangs nicht, bis sie merkten, dass es auf die Wiedertaufe als auf ein Abzeichen der angestrebten Sonderkirche abgesehen sei." Egli, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer*, S. 17.

[3] *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, S. 293, 294.

aside the National Church, exchanging a hitherto national reformation of the Church for one more or less Donatist. For if infant baptism were given up, because faith was not yet there, then there only remained as the right time for it the moment when living faith and regeneration were certain. And then baptism would become the sign of fellowship of the regenerate, the saints, who bind themselves together as atoms out of the world."

In March, 1524, the pastor at Rifferschwyl, in a sermon, referred to infant baptism as a "useless thing." In the same month Grebel wrote to Vadian at St. Gall: "Those who understand the teaching of the Scriptures in reference to baptism refuse to allow their children to be baptized." About the same time William Reublin, pastor at Wytikon, assailed infant baptism in his preaching. During the summer the leaders of the radicals expressed a desire to discuss the matter with the Zürich pastors. The desire was granted, and two sessions were devoted to the discussion, but without practical results. At length, in August, the Zürich Council examined two members of the church in Wytikon who had refused to have their children baptized. They said they had done so in accordance with the teachings of Reublin. Reublin's arrest and imprisonment followed, while those who had refused to have their children baptized were threatened with punishment if they persisted further in their obstinacy. January 15, 1525, a public discussion was held in Zürich. The opponents of infant baptism maintained that infants can neither exercise faith nor understand what baptism signifies, and accordingly baptism should be administered to believers only, in accordance with the teachings of the Scriptures. In his reply Zwingli claimed that infant baptism in the Christian Church takes the place of circumcision in the Jewish Church. He appealed also to 1 Cor. vii., 4, where Paul speaks of the children of Christian parents as "holy"; also to the household baptisms mentioned in Acts xvi., 25, 33, and 1 Cor. i., 16. The Council decided that the weight of the argument was with Zwingli, and ordered that those who had children unbaptized should

have them baptized during the following week or be banished. Grebel and Mantz were directed to abstain from further discussion, while their associates, who were not natives of the Canton, viz., Reublin, Brödli, Hetzer, and Castelberger, should leave the country during the week following. February 1, 1525, a second mandate from the Zürich Council followed, directing the magistrates to arrest and imprison those pastors who refused to comply with the previous mandate concerning infant baptism.

It is at this time that we find the first reference in the history of the reform movement to what is known as Anabaptism. Naturally those who denied the validity of infant baptism were soon led to consider their own duty with reference to baptism as indicated by the teachings of the New Testament Scriptures. The first case of so-called re-baptism, or Anabaptism, occurred at one of the meetings of the "Brethren" in Zürich. According to a Moravian chronicle, all present bowed in prayer before God that he would grant them power to fulfil the divine will. Blaurock then arose and asked Grebel to baptize him upon confession of his faith. This was done. All the rest were then baptized by Blaurock. Like scenes soon occurred at other meetings at various places in and around Zürich.[1]

Here, then, in Switzerland, among Zwingli's former associates, we find the beginnings of Anabaptism. The movement was the result of a development of radical principles,

[1] As yet no question in reference to the act of baptism seems to have been raised, and Grebel and his associates administered the ordinance in accordance with the usual practice in Switzerland at that time. Shortly after, however, as Kessler tells us (*Sabbata*, i., S. 266), Wolfgang Ulimann, on a journey to Schaffhausen, met Conrad Grebel who instructed him so highly in the knowledge of Anabaptism that he would not be sprinkled out of a dish, but was drawn under and covered with the waters of the Rhine. Sicher, a Roman Catholic eye-witness (Arx, *Geschichte d. Stadt St. Gallen*, ii., S. 501), says: "The numbers of the converted (at St. Gall) increased so that the baptistery could not contain the crowd, and they were compelled to use the streams and the Sitter River." Dr. Schaff (*Baptist Review*, July, 1889, p. 272, note) says: "The river Sitter which flows from the Santis into the Thur, is deep enough for immersion, and in that river modern Baptists perform the ceremony of immersion. So I am informed by an intelligent Swiss of that region."

which, so far as we can see, had no impulse from without, but proceeded along lines that can be easily and clearly traced.

III.

EXTENT OF THE MOVEMENT.

The new movement spread with great rapidity throughout the Canton, and soon into the adjacent Cantons. The decree of banishment made missionaries of the leaders, and with the enthusiasm of the early disciples, who were scattered abroad at the time of the persecution that arose about Stephen, they went everywhere preaching the word. The people came together in lonely places. The Bible was read. Its solemn lessons were unfolded with simplicity and earnestness. Much was made of religious experience. There were words, too, of good-will and sympathy for the oppressed, which found a ready entrance to the hearts of the common people. Converts were multiplied. These also became missionaries, in accordance with the Saviour's exhortation, "Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee." Indeed, there was no hamlet so remote or so secluded among the German-speaking Swiss, to which speedily and joyfully these apostles of Anabaptism, singly or two by two, did not make their way. Some of them soon appeared in the cities, towns, and villages of Southern Germany, where ere long there were numerous Baptist strongholds. Blaurock, whom Beck calls "The Second Paul of the Baptists," visited the Tyrol, and through his labors from 1525 to 1529, Baptist churches sprang up on every hand. Denck made his way to Augsburg in the summer or autumn of 1525, and that city became the centre of the Anabaptist movement in Swabia. In the following year, with Hetzer, Denck was in Strasburg, where the Anabaptists were numerous and influential. Hubmeier, the most prominent of the Anabaptist leaders, who had been imprisoned in Zürich and then banished from the Canton, made his way, in 1526, to Moravia.

Here he found not only an asylum for himself, but for many of his brethren from Switzerland and Southern Germany. The rapid growth of the Baptist movement in Moravia, however, was not the result of immigration alone. Hubmeier made Nikolsburg the centre of extensive evangelizing operations. Froschauer, the publisher, came thither from Zürich, and books and tracts were largely multiplied and widely scattered. An old chronicle, referring to Hubmeier's work, says: "The people received his teachings, and in a short time many were baptized." [1] Indeed, Moravia soon became to the Anabaptists "The Promised Land," a veritable "New Jerusalem."

Melchior Hofmann, who at first, with Luther's endorsement, had labored with fiery zeal to advance the work of reform in Northern Germany, was in Strasburg early in 1529, and entered into close relations with the Zwinglian party in that city. Early in the following year his sympathies were with the Anabaptists. It is not known that he formally united with the Strasburg radicals, but when, as early as May, 1530, he made his way to East Friesland, he was in harmony with the Anabaptists, and at Emden about three hundred persons soon received baptism at his hands. From Emden he went forth as an "apostolic herald." Jan Trypmaker, who was with Hofmann in East Friesland, made his way to Amsterdam at the close of 1530, and was the first to introduce Anabaptism into Holland. Hofmann followed in the course of the following year. The movement in Northern Germany was much more extensive than has generally been supposed. "There were churches in Cologne, Aachen, Wesel, Essen, and many other places in this region. Münster was the most strongly infected. . . . In all the cities in the Archbishopric, with scarcely one or two exceptions, there were Anabaptists, and even in the country towns and villages. The same was true of the neighboring districts, especially in East Friesland, in the churches of Bentheim, Lingen, Oldenburg, and Minden. . . . There were Baptists in the Westphalian cities, Soest, Lippstadt, Lemgo,

[1] Beck, *Die Geschichts-Bucher der Wiedertäufer*, S. 48.

Unna, Dortmund, Minden, Blomberg, Osnabruck, etc. . . . In the evangelical cities, Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Brunswick, Hanover, Luneburg, etc., it can be proved that there were either fully established Baptist churches, or at least individual Baptists, and that, too, among the clergy even."[1]

In fact, as Dorner says, "Anabaptism, in the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, spread like a burning fever through all Germany; from Swabia and Switzerland, along the Rhine to Holland and Friesland,—from Bavaria, Middle Germany, Westphalia, and Saxony, as far as Holstein."[2]

IV.

CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT.

The character of the Anabaptist movement has both been misunderstood and misrepresented. In his "Church and State," the late Rev. J. P. Thompson, D.D., says: "The Anabaptists of Germany in the sixteenth century had most of the characteristic features of Mormonism. They claimed to be inspired; they refused to acknowledge the civil government; they established a theocracy, calling Münster 'Mount Zion,' they collected tithes and practised polygamy." Dr. Thompson, in making this statement, evidently had in mind the Münster fanatics, whose shameful and horrible practices he ascribes to the entire Baptist brotherhood in Germany. Nothing could be more unjust. The evidence is abundant that the great body of the Anabaptists of Germany in the sixteenth century, as in all other lands, were pious, law-abiding, peaceable citizens. They were not perfect men it is true. They had the faults of radicals in any movement. Some of them were not free from doctrinal errors, while others, though comparatively few, were swept away into fanaticism and wild excesses. It could hardly have been otherwise in an age of theological upheaval. But, as Cornelius says: "All these excesses were condemned and opposed whenever

[1] Dr. L. Keller, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, September, 1882, S. 238.

[2] Dorner, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, S. 132.

a large assembly of the Brethren afforded an opportunity to give expression to the religious consciousness of the Baptist membership."[1] Dr. Philip Schaff's testimony is of like import: "The excesses of a misguided faction have been charged upon the whole body. They were made responsible for the Peasants' War and the Münster tragedy, although the most of them were quiet, orderly, and peaceful citizens, and would rather suffer persecution than do an act of violence."[2]

The Anabaptist movement will best be understood if attention is directed to its historical development and the influence of its different leaders. Egli, in his valuable monograph on the Anabaptists of Zürich, says: "Unquestionably the principles from which the Baptists proceeded manifest a powerful grasp of primitive Christian ideas." What were some of the ideas that characterized the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century? The following are especially worthy of attention:

1. That the Scriptures are the only authority in matters of faith and practice.

2. That personal faith in Jesus Christ alone secures salvation; therefore infant baptism is to be rejected.

3. That a church is composed of believers who have been baptized on a personal confession of their faith in Jesus Christ.

4. That each church has the entire control of its affairs without interference on the part of any external power.

5. That the outward life must be in accordance with such a confession of faith, and to this end it is essential that church discipline should be maintained.[3]

6. That while the State may properly demand obedience in all things not contrary to the law of God, it has no right to set aside the dictates of conscience, and compel the humblest individual to surrender his religious views, or to inflict punishment in case such surrender is refused. Every human soul is directly responsible to God.

[1] *Geschichte d. Münsterischen Aufruhrs*, ii., S. 67.

[2] *Baptist Review*, July, 1889, p. 263.

[3] Wer nach der Taufe wieder in Sünde verfalle, solle mit dem Bann ausgeschlossen werden.—Egli, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer*, S. 28.

These ideas characterized the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland. They appeared in the public discussions held with Zwingli and his associates. The supreme authority of the Scriptures was made especially prominent in these teachings.[1] The great evangelical truths which the Swiss reformers preached, they held. They believed in regeneration by the atoning blood of Christ, but they demanded the fruits of regeneration. Their hymns, which happily have been preserved, show no trace of revolutionary or fanatical doctrines, but abound in devout sentiments pertaining to Christian experience and hope, and exhortations to fidelity and steadfastness in the faith, although persecution and death should be the result.[2]

These ideas the banished leaders of the Swiss Anabaptists made known in other lands. Prominent among these leaders was Balthasar Hubmeier. Indeed no one influenced the Anabaptist movement from 1525 to 1528 more profoundly than did he. Pastor of a Reformed church at Waldshut, across the Rhine from Switzerland, he, with many of his church, was baptized by Reublin at Easter in 1525. He was a man of scholarly ability and devout piety. Having been banished from Switzerland, he made his way into Moravia, where he guided the new movement until his death at the stake, which occurred at Vienna March 10, 1528. His numerous published writings bear witness to his

[1] Grebel und seine Anhänger berufen sich nirgends auf unmittelbare göttliche Eingebungen, nirgends setzen sie der Bibel, als dem todten Buchstaben, das innere Wort oder die lebendige Stimme Gottes entgegen ; was sie wollen ist die Schrift, nichts als die Schrift, die ganze Schrift, und wenn sie sich des rechtes Geistes rühmen, so ist damit nicht eine Quelle neuer Offenbarungen gemeint, sondern das subjective Prinzip des christlichen Erkennens und Lebens.—Cited in *Berner Beiträge*, S. 236.

[2] "The Anabaptists produced some of the earliest Protestant hymns in the German language, which deserve the attention of historians. Some of them have passed into orthodox collections in ignorance of the real authors. . . . They dwell on the inner life of the Christian, the mystery of regeneration, sanctification, and personal union with Christ. They breathe throughout a spirit of piety, devotion, cheerful resignation under suffering, and readiness for martyrdom. They are hymns of the cross, to comfort and encourage the scattered sheep of Christ, ready for the slaughter in imitation of their Divine Shepherd."—Dr. Philip Schaff, *Baptist Review*, July, 1889, p. 273.

evangelical spirit and his devotion to Baptist principles. "Baptism," he says, "is an ordinance of Christ. It is not enough that one believes in Jesus; he must confess him openly. He who confesses Christ before men, Christ will confess before his Father. The divine order is, first: the preaching of the Word; second, faith; third, baptism." When it was charged against the Anabaptists that they proposed to establish a church of sinless persons, Hubmeier replied: "You do us an injustice. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." The charge of communism he indignantly repelled. "I have always said with reference to community of goods," is his testimony, "that one should have regard to others, so that the hungry may be fed, the thirsty receive drink, and the naked be clothed; for we are not lords, but stewards. There is certainly no one who says that all things should be common." When it was said that those who are opposed to infant baptism hold that no one can be saved without water-baptism, Hubmeier replied: "Salvation is conditioned neither on baptism nor on works of mercy. Condemnation is the result not of a neglect of baptism, but of unbelief alone." And when it was added that the thief on the cross believed, and on the same day was with Christ in Paradise, yet he was not baptized with outward baptism, Hubmeier replied, "The man who has the excuse of the thief on the cross will have the favor of God though unbaptized."

Hubmeier's printed works, twenty-five in number, appeared in rapid succession, were extensively circulated, and became important factors in the development of the Baptist movement.

Not long before his death, Hubmeier was brought into conflict with Hans Hut, a German Anabaptist, whose views in some respects were at variance with his own. Hut was a pre-millennarian. He also held and taught that a Christian ought not to bear the sword, *i. e.*, engage in military service. These views he zealously endeavored to impress upon the Baptists of Moravia; but having at length been arrested he made his escape into Southern Germany, where after further

labors in extending his peculiar doctrines, he suffered martyrdom at Augsburg in 1529.

About the same time an added effort to subvert the teachings of Hubmeier in Moravia was made by Jacob Wiedemann, who came to Nikolsburg possessed with the idea that community of goods was of the essence of Christianity; but he, too, with those whom he had won to his standard, was soon compelled to leave the country. His doctrine of community of goods, however, in the absence of a strong opponent like Hubmeier, at length became a fundamental one with the Moravian Anabaptists; although a small company of Swiss Anabaptists among them resolutely rejected the doctrine and held to the principles advocated by Hubmeier. The Chiliastic views of Hut failed to obtain a foothold in Moravia.

In the teachings of Melchior Hofmann, who for a while was prominent in the Anabaptist movement in Northern Germany, beginning with 1530, Chiliasm received considerable attention. Hofmann, who, as we have seen, was primarily prominent in the Lutheran Reformation, believed that the end of the world was at hand, and full of evangelistic fervor, he earnestly impressed his convictions upon the minds of his eager listeners wherever he went. It is worthy of notice in this connection that Luther busied himself at times with like speculations. He not only looked forward with longing to the end of all things, but from the commencement of his own conflict with Anti-Christ he hoped for the speedy overthrow of this mighty opposing power by means of the Saviour's return. In 1540 he regarded the close of the world-period as at hand. Melanchthon also was accustomed to speak of the world as "bereits im Greisenalten."[1]

It is not surprising, therefore, that Chiliastic views found a welcome in some Anabaptist circles. The signs mentioned in the Scriptures in connection with the final catastrophe the Anabaptists saw as did Luther; and as Hofmann made his way among the scattered flocks and foretold the speedy end of the wrongs which the oppressed classes had suffered, and the glory of the new kingdom in which dwelleth righteous-

[1] Köstlin, *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1878, S. 125, 126.

ness, they received his message as glad tidings. Some, who accepted Chiliastic views, made shipwreck of faith, and abandoned themselves to the wildest excesses and abominations. But they were few in number compared with the great Anabaptist body. These avoided the rock upon which the Münster fanatics had perished, and under the guidance of wiser leaders were preserved from serious doctrinal errors.

V.

DECLINE OF THE MOVEMENT.

This was due in part to the loss of its leaders at a very early period in the history of the movement, and also to the fact that men of like spirit and doctrinal views were not found to take their places. Such men as Hubmeier, Grebel, Mantz, Reublin, Blaurock, Denck, Hetzer, had no successors, and as all of them were dead before 1530 they were not connected with the movement long enough to guard it from certain extravagances introduced by men like Hans Hut and Melchior Hofmann. Moreover, among thoughtful minds there can be no question but that the doctrines of pre-millennarianism and community of goods, made so prominent by both Hut and Hofmann, tended to bring the movement into disrepute, and so to weaken it.

But the strong arm of the civil power, which was early raised to smite the new movement, accomplished more. The men who struck down the leaders did not end their work with them. March 26, 1530, the Council of Zürich said: "We are determined not to tolerate Anabaptists within our borders. There must be no fellowship with them whatever." And it was ordered that all the inhabitants of the canton, and all in any way allied with them, especially all superior and inferior officers, magistrates, etc., should seize the "Brethren" wherever discovered and deliver them to the Council to be punished by death according to the law. And so the work of extirpation went on in Zürich and in the other cantons where Anabaptism had obtained a foothold;

and erelong in Switzerland the triumph of the civil authorities was complete.

The opposition of the civil authorities in other lands was as unrelenting. In Southern Germany, the states that formed the Swabian League voted, in September, 1527, to proceed against the Anabaptists. "Armed horsemen," says Keller, "roamed over all the states of the League, and their commanders had power to put immediately to death, without trial, the fanatics whom they arrested in their wild hunt. So outrageous were the proceedings that the Margrave George of Ansbach, of the house of Hohenzollern, thought it necessary to enter a protest against them. Horrible also were the persecutions in Bavaria. Duke William gave the frightful command: 'Whoever recants let him be beheaded; whoever will not recant let him be burned.'"

In Moravia persecution began in 1528, but the first great persecution was in 1535. King Ferdinand demanded the extermination of the Anabaptists, and in obedience to this cruel demand their communities were broken up and the members scattered. The great persecution of 1547–1554 was even more terrible in its consequences. Yet, though cast down, the "Brethren" were not destroyed. Then, near the close of the century, the Jesuits engaged in the work. The Baptists maintained their ground, however, until the middle of the sixteenth century, when other hostile influences aided the opposition, and an added century of cruelty and crime completed the bloody task.

In the Tyrol and Görtz the number of Anabaptist executions had reached nearly a thousand in 1531. At Ensisheim, according to Sebastian Franck, the number was six hundred. In the Palatinate, about the year 1529, "the Palgrave Ludwig in a short time put to death, on account of their faith, between one hundred and fifty and two hundred." Along the Rhine, State and Church vied with each other in the endeavor to crush out the movement. In Northern Germany and in the Netherlands the work of extermination was zealously prosecuted. Untold horrors were perpetrated. But even the severest measures were only partially success-

ful, and at length, wiser counsels prevailing, the Anabaptists, under Menno Simons, a worthy leader, were allowed with less hindrance to walk the peaceful ways they loved and which they had long desired to enter.

VI.

SOME OF THE ABIDING RESULTS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century suffered apparent defeat, as a whole, yet some of its distinguishing features, although fiercely assailed, were not destroyed; and these in the centuries that have followed have exercised an important influence in the development of the Christian Church.[1]

Especially is this true of the idea of religious liberty. The Anabaptist principle that every man is directly responsible to God, and that magistrates rightfully have no authority to exercise compulsion in religious concerns, has obtained wide recognition, and Christians of every name are sharing in the benefits it has already secured.

The entire separation of Church and State is another feature of the Anabaptist movement that has found increasing favor in succeeding generations. It seemed to Zwingli as if the foundations would be removed altogether if religion should not receive the continued support of the strong arm of the civil power. But time has dispelled this illusion. It has been abundantly proved that the Christian Church has no need of helps from such a source. Already a Church independent of State aid or control is a hope full of inspiration for the future of Christianity.[2]

[1] Die Täuferei ist äusserlich unterlegen, und doch hat sie Vieles erreicht. Egli, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer*, S. 93. Wie manchem Gedanken der Täufer ist eine spätere Zeit, wenn auch in anderer Form gerecht geworden? Strasser, *Berner Beiträge*, S. 238.

[2] The interest in this matter just now in Germany is significant. Rev. Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, pastor of the American Chapel, in Berlin, recently wrote to the *Independent* (London): "The proposals for the improvement of the Church are so numerous, and have come so suddenly, that they are bewildering. It looks as if the crisis were hurrying beyond the hope of a

The importance of Church discipline is another idea of which much was made by the Anabaptists. Christianity, it was said, demands holy living and the fruits of holy living; and members of the body of Christ, living in entire disregard of the claims of religion, were dealt with according to the teachings of the New Testament. The importance given to Church discipline by the Anabaptists compelled Zwingli to give attention to it in the Reformed Church, and its importance in Church administration has been more and more widely conceded from the period of the Reformation.

Another idea developed in the Anabaptist movement is that of congregational self-government. The independence of the local church was asserted by the Anabaptists in the conviction that such independence is in accordance with the model furnished by the primitive churches; and this idea is now held not only by the Baptists of Europe and America, but by the Congregationalists and other smaller Christian bodies.

The Anabaptist idea that baptism is to be administered only to believers, on confession of their personal faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, has also had an increasing influence outside of Baptist churches, especially in the United States; while the related idea that infants can be saved without baptism advanced by the Anabaptists, and for which they were condemned by the Augsburg Confession, is one that now has the assent of thoughtful minds generally.[1]

reformation to a revolution. Free the Church from the dominion of the State is now the demand of many who a few years ago denounced all who dared to advocate a free Church. Every day it is becoming more evident that secular power is not fit to manage the kingdom of God. Not only are the energies of Christians undeveloped, because the government professes to do for them what they ought to do themselves, but they are hampered by the State when they want to work."

[1] Art. IX. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant Baptismum puerorum et affirmant pueros sine Baptismo salvos fieri. "There are few Lutherans who would subscribe to this condemnation now."—Dr. Philip Schaff, *Baptist Quarterly Review*, July, 1889, p. 270 (note).

THE VICISSITUDES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH: A STUDY IN DOGMATIC HISTORY.

THE VICISSITUDES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH: A STUDY IN DOGMATIC HISTORY.

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When in the year 1534 Clement VII. decided against Henry VIII., King of England, in the matter of his divorce with Catharine of Aragon, and the spiritual corporations had resolved that the Roman pontiff had no more authority in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop, a royal edict abolished the usurped dominion of the Pope. This edict was succeeded in November of the same year by the Act of Supremacy, which reads as follows: "That the Kyng our Soveraign Lorde his heires and successours Kynges of this Realme shal be takyn accepted and reputed the onely supreme heed in erthe of the Churche of England callyd Anglicana Ecclesia." By this act of Parliament the English Church ceased to be popish, but did not cease to be Romish. The worship was that of Mediæval Catholicism, mainly according to the Sarum Use; the theology was that of Thomas Aquinas, in which Henry himself had been well instructed. But the "new learning" had entered the realm. Grocyn and Colet had brought Greek from Italy. Groups of young scholars had gathered round the universities, and were protected and encouraged even by the Primate. Erasmus had taught at Cambridge. Luther's books had been read and proscribed, and proscribed and read. Tyndal's New Testament had "caused a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture" than many of the mitred ecclesiastics of the day. Cranmer had spent a year and a half in Ger-

many, part of the time in consultation with the Saxon Reformers, and part in the house of Osiander at Nurenberg, at the very time that the latter, with the coöperation of Brentz, was preparing the great Brandenburg-Nurenberg Kirchenordnung, the most influential and widely used Lutheran service of the sixteenth century. Barnes and Fox and Heath spent the winter of 1535–6 in Germany, much of the time at Wittenberg, where Melanchthon and other Wittenbergers, in company with the English envoys, elaborated a "Repetition and Exegesis of the Augsburg Confession," as a basis of the proposed union between Henry VIII. and the German princes. This "Repetition and Exegesis" was carried home by the English envoys in May or June, 1536.[1] The article of the Lord's Supper, as given by Seckendorf,[2] is as follows: *Constanter credimus et docemus, quod in Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, vere, substantialiter et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi, sub speciebus panis et vini, et quod sub iisdem speciebus vere et corporealiter exhibeantur et distribuantur omnibus illis qui sacramentum accipiant.* That is, rendered into old English:

"We constantly believe and teach that in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the body and blood of Christ are verily, substantially, and really present under the forms of bread and wine, and under the same forms verily and corporeally are exhibited and distributed to all them which receive the Sacrament."

This "Repetition and Exegesis," being the doctrinal response of the Saxon theologians to the English envoys, was undoubtedly presented by them to their royal master, who at this time was earnestly seeking alliance with the Reformation princes of the continent, and whom the envoys had declared "by the grace of God to be united with the confederated princes and states both in Christian doctrine and in the confession of it."[3] On the ninth of June of this same year, and thus very shortly after the return of the en-

[1] The envoys were dismissed by the Prince Elector, April 24, 1536. *Corpus Reformatorum*, iii., p. ix.

[2] iii., p. 111, 112.

[3] *Corpus Ref.*, ii., p. 1034. Also Seckendorf, iii., p. 111.

voys,[1] Convocation assembled, and Henry sent forth "Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablysh Christen Quietness and Unitie Amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, which Articles be also approved by the Consent and Determination of the hole Clergie of this Realme." These are the famous Ten Articles, the first doctrinal standard of the English Church. Burnet, Froude, and Green declare that Henry is the author of these Articles. Hardwick divides the authorship between Convocation and the King. That they are formed in large part on Lutheran models, is shown by even slight examination and comparison. But whether these models were the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, then just translated by Taverner under order of Cromwell, or the "Repetition and Exegesis," elaborated at Wittenberg and "reported at home by the envoys" (Seckendorf, iii., p. 111), cannot now be certainly shown, as only two articles of the latter document are known to be in print. The latter supposition is rendered highly probable by the fact that the "Repetition and Exegesis" had just been brought from Wittenberg, and by the close correspondence of the article on the Lord's Supper, given above, to the fourth of the English Articles, which reads as follows: "As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporeally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament."[2]

[1] Fox was present in Convocation.

[2] Lloyd's reprint (1825) of Bertholet's (1536) edition.

Here the "constantly believe" is a literal translation of the *constanter credimus* in the "Repetition and Exegesis." "Under the form and figure of bread and wine," is a literal translation, with very slight expansion, of the *sub speciebus panis et vini* of the "Repetition and Exegesis." The "verily, substantially, and really," correspond even in their order of consecution to the *vere, substantialiter, et realiter* of the Wittenberg document. The clause, "and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporeally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament," is a literal translation, with only slight expansion, of the second clause of the "Repetition and Exegesis." At least the correspondence is so marked verbally, and in arrangement of words, and in sentiment, as to make it morally certain that the Wittenberg document was closely followed. Passing lightly by the words "same form and figure of bread and wine," and "corporeally, really," we notice particularly that the word "exhibited," which in old English means, "make a presentation of,"[1] is a transfer in an English form of the Latin *exhibeantur*, which Luther[2] used again and again to state his doctrine of the *presentation* of the body and blood of Christ to the communicant; which Melanchthon used in the Apology in explanation of the tenth article of the Confession, in the *Loci* of the second era, and in the Wittenberg Concord, which was signed by the theologians of Saxony and Upper Germany. It also appears three times in the Saxon Visitation Articles of 1592, and, more than any other word, was used by the Lutheran dogmaticians to set forth their doctrine of the Lord's Supper. "Distributed" also is a transfer rather than a translation of the Latin *distribuantur*, which is employed in the Augsburg Confession, and which Taverner and the translator of the "Harmony of the Confessions" render "distributed," but which later translators of the Augustana render "communicated." And the words, "unto and of all them which re-

[1] See Century Dictionary *sub voce*.

[2] DeWette, iv., p. 216.

ceive the said sacrament," follow, with very slight exception, the *omnibus illis qui sacramentum accipiant*, which have their own antecedents in the *his qui sacramentum accipiunt* of the Apology.

If now we read the English Article in the light of the "Repetition and Exegesis," and in the light of the representations of the King made in Germany by the envoys, and in the light of the statement of Burnet[1] that in all points that were material, except communion under both kinds, worship in a known tongue, and the marriage of clergy, the King "had set up the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession," we will have no difficulty in ascertaining the accredited faith of the English Church at this time touching the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

The Article must be regarded as a full abandonment of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. *(a)* It does not use the word, nor does it use any word which indicates a change of the substance of the bread and wine. *(b)* In the words, "under the form and figure of bread and wine" we recognize the very phraseology coined by the Lutherans to indicate and affirm the presence of bread and wine in the Supper, for form and figure of bread and wine were not intended to mean form and figure of these substances in the abstract, but form and figure of bread and wine which are known in connection with the substances of bread and wine, or, as Melanchthon had put it in the Apology, "the visible things—to wit, bread and wine." And as the English Article itself says: "Which we there presently do see and perceive by the outward senses."

That is, in abandoning the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, the English Church in her head and representative members did nevertheless formally accept in her first standard of faith a true, real, and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. The terms used are, in almost every instance, peculiar to the Lutheran faith, and as, on the one hand, they bar out the doctrine of Transubstantiation, so, on the other, do they

[1] *Hist. Ref.*, i., p. 187, Bohn's edition.

exclude the Zwinglian view. A Calvinistic view is not yet known in England.

We pass now to the Bishops' Book, or "The Institution of a Christian Man" (1537), which, however, was never authorized as a standard of faith. But as it was signed by two archbishops, nineteen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen professors of theology and law, it may be held to exhibit the faith of the English Church. The Article of the Lord's Supper is identical with that on the same subject in the Ten Articles. But what is remarkable here is the fact that the name of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, which is not attached to the Ten Articles, is subscribed to the *Institution.* Perhaps this is accounted for by the fact that the Ten Articles include only *three* sacraments, while the *Institution* embraces *seven.*

But now a reaction comes. The Lutheran theologians had refused to sanction Henry's divorce, and the latter arrests all further negotiations with the confederated princes and their representatives. The commissioners sent over from Germany in the year 1538, in company with three bishops and four doctors nominated by the King, compiled the Thirteen Articles,[1] which were intended to cover the positive doctrines required for a basis of alliance. The seventh article, *De Eucharistia,* is, word for word, identical with the corresponding article in the "Repetition and Exegesis," except that in the second clause it substitutes *realiter* for *corporealiter*, and adds *sive bonis sive malis*, which tends to emphasize the Lutheran doctrine still more distinctly.

But when the German commissioners insist on the abolition of the chief abuses, viz., communion under one kind, the sacrifice of the mass, the celibacy of the clergy, Henry refuses all further negotiations. In August of this year, the German commissioners, just before leaving London, address a very earnest letter to the King, in which they discuss these three points and set forth the Lutheran position. Henry replies just as earnestly in defence of the old Roman

[1] Found in Hardwick, "Hist. of Arts," Appendix ii., and in Cox's "Cranmer," ii., p. 472.

Catholic view.[1] It is manifest from Henry's letter, either that he had never in *reality* abandoned his Thomist views, and had not "joined with the confederated princes and states in Christian doctrine and the confession of it," as represented by the English envoys; or that in his resentment of the refusal to approve his divorce, he returns to the view in which he had been educated. The advocates of the "old learning" have now gained the ascendency at court, and by the special aid of the King, are able to carry in the Southern Convocation and in Parliament "The Bloody Statute of the Six Articles," "the whip withe sixe stinges," "resolved by the Convocation the old popish way," enacted by Parliament under the title: "An act for abolishing diversities of opinions." The first and second articles as given by Cox in his (Parker Soc.) edition of Cranmer's works (vol. ii., p. 168, n.), read as follows:

I. "That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present."

II. "That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds."

"The Parliament thanked the King for the pains he had taken in these articles, and enacted that if any after the 12th of July did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the King." (Burnet, i., p. 190.) Burnet further says: "This act was received by all that secretly favored popery with great joy."—p. 191.

Thus the legal and authorized faith of the English Church[2] on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is now Transubstantiation, and its logical sequence, the communion under one kind, and such it remains until after Henry's death.

[1] Originals in Burnet, Addenda cxxxviii. *et seq.*

[2] It is proper to state that Cranmer and other bishops strenuously opposed the passage of "The Bloody Statute," and voted against it in the presence of the King.—Burnet, i., p. 190; and Cox's "Cranmer," ii., p. 168, n.

This doctrine is elaborated in the revision of "The Institution of a Christian Man," which appeared in 1543 under the title: "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man," commonly called the King's Book. Its article on the Lord's Supper contains the following: "In this most high sacrament of the altar, the creatures which be taken to the use thereof, as bread and wine, do not remain still in their own substance, but by virtue of Christ's word in the consecration be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ. So that although there appear the form of bread and wine, after the consecration, as did before, and to the outward senses nothing seemeth to be changed, yet must we, forsaking and renouncing the persuasion of our senses, in this behalf, give our assent only to faith, and to the plain word of Christ, which affirmeth, that substance there offered, exhibited, and received, to be the very precious body and blood of our Lord, as it is plainly written by the evangelists, and also by St. Paul."[1]

Edward VI. came to the throne, January 28, 1547. His uncle, Lord Hertford, whom the late king had placed at the head of the regency, first expelled from the regency all the advocates of the "old learning," and then seized the royal power with the title of Protector. His decidedly Protestant predilections gave Cranmer opportunity to carry into effect his plans of reform. November 22d he procured an act for receiving the sacrament in both kinds, and shortly afterwards obtained an act repealing "The Bloody Statute of the Six Articles." The next year steps were taken for converting the Mass into a Communion. At this time Cranmer is thoroughly Lutheran in his entire theological system. This is clearly proved by his translation of Jonas' Catechism.[2] Green says: "Cranmer had drifted into a purely Protestant position, and his open break with the older system followed quickly on Hertford's rise to power."[3] The Geneva influence had not yet been felt in England.

[1] Lloyd's "Formularies of Faith," pp. 262, 263.

[2] Brown's "Exposition of XXXIX. Articles," Introduction, p. 11.

[3] "Hist. English People," p. 364.

The Order of the Communion appeared, March 8, 1548. It must be interpreted in the light of Cranmer's now well-known doctrinal position. The Prayer to be said just before the administration is: "Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood," which is followed by this Rubric: "Then shall the Priest rise, . . . and when he doth deliver the sacrament of the body of Christ he shall say to every one these words following:

"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life.

"And the Priest, delivering the sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more, shall say:

"The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life."[1]

All this remains unchanged in The Book of Common Prayer of the next year, except that in the words of administration in each kind, we have: "Preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

With these words of administration we may compare some Lutheran formulæ. Those in the great Brandenburg-Nurenberg, which was in course of preparation while Cranmer sojourned in Osiander's house, are: "Take and eat. This is the body of Christ, which was given for thee." "Take and drink. This is the blood of the New Testament, which was shed for thy sins." The Swabian Hall (1543): "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve thee unto everlasting life." "The blood of our Lord Christ, be a washing away of all thy sins." The Cologne Reformation, which is known to have influenced the English book in various ways, has these words: "Take and eat unto thy salvation the body of Christ, which was given for thee." "Take and drink unto thy salvation the blood of the New Testament, which was shed for thy sins." The correspondence between these Lutheran forms

[1] Liturgies of Edward VI. (Parker Soc. ed.), pp. 7, 8.

and the English is too close to be accounted accidental. Special attention may be called to the words "given for thee," "shed for thee," which do not appear in the Mediæval Mass, but which already in Luther's "Babylonish Captivity of the Church" were held to be the chief thing. Hence reading these English formulæ in the light of these manifest correspondences with the Lutheran formulæ, and by the light of other well-known facts, we can hardly help interpreting them as intended to set forth the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. And this position is confirmed by the prayer of thanksgiving, which is closely conformed to that in the Brandenburg-Nurenberg liturgy.[1]

But now another change takes place. A strong pressure has been exerted from Geneva.[2] The First Prayer Book had passed into the house of Lords, December 9, 1548, and received the final sanction of the legislature,[3] January 15, 1549. But on the 14th of December, 1548, Cranmer, during a public discussion in London, abandoned his former view of the Eucharist.[4] Henceforth he holds the Calvinistic view. This is clearly shown in the Answer to Bishop Gardiner. In the very Preface to the edition of 1551, he denies the corporeal presence "in the outward visible signs," and declares: "My meaning is that the force, the grace, the virtue and benefit of Christ's body that was crucified for us, and of his blood that was shed for us, be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the sacrament. But this I understand of his spiritual presence. . . . Nor no more truly is he corporeally or really present in the due ministration of the Lord's Supper, than he is in the due ministration of baptism."[5]

[1] Compare Richard Hilles' letter to Bullinger, March 4th, 1549: "We have an uniform celebration of the Eucharist throughout the whole kingdom, but after the manner of the Nuremberg churches, and some of those of Saxony; for they do not yet feel inclined to adopt your rites respecting the administration of the sacraments."—Original Letters, 1537–1558, p. 266, Parker Society.

[2] See Original Letters in Parker Society's publications.

[3] Burnet, i., 358.

[4] Schaff, "Creeds," i., 601.

[5] Cranmer's Works, Preface (Parker Society).

This needs neither explanation nor comment. It reflects clearly the influence of Geneva and Zurich. Hence we need not be surprised to find a changed view of the Lord's Supper in the Second Prayer Book of 1552. The words of administration are so changed as to avoid mention of taking the body and blood of Christ. "When the minister delivers the bread, he shall say:

"Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving."

"And the minister that delivers the cup, shall say:

"Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."[1]

English writers and others have regarded this as savoring of a tendency to Zwinglianism, and as "implying that the reformers believed in no real spiritual reception of Christ's body in the Eucharist, but only in a remembrance of His death and passion"[2]; which is confirmed by the so-called Black Rubric,[3] which is interpreted as aimed alike against the Catholic and the Lutheran view. In explanation of the order to kneel at the communion the rubric says:

"Lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby that adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's natural body to be in more places than in one at one time."

And this receives further confirmation from the "Short Catechism" set forth by royal authority the next year (1553):

[1] Liturgies of Edward VI. (Parker Soc.), p. 279.

[2] Brown's "Exposition of XXXIX Articles," p. 712.

[3] Liturgies of Edward VI. (Parker Soc.), p. 283.

"*Master.* What declareth and betokeneth the Supper unto us, which we solemnly use in the remembrance of the Lord?

"*Scholar.* The Supper (as I have shown a little before) is a certain thankful remembrance of the death of Christ: forasmuch as the bread representeth his body, betrayed to be crucified for us; the wine standeth in stead and place of his blood plenteously shed for us. And even as by bread and wine our natural bodies are sustained and nourished: so by the body, that is the flesh and blood of Christ, the soul is fed through faith, and quickened to the heavenly and godly life." [1]

It can hardly be claimed that these statements measure up to the doctrinal standards of Calvinism, as expressed in Calvin's Catechism and in some of his confessional writings.

The same view in general of the Lord's Supper is set forth in the twenty-ninth of the Forty-two Articles of the year 1553. It declares that "the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places," and that "a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." [2]

Hence a Zwinglian, or at least a weakened Calvinistic view, is the faith of the English Church in the matter of the Lord's Supper at the time of the death of Edward VI.

During the reign of Bloody Mary the Second Prayer Book was superseded, and the Mass was restored. The Forty-two Articles remained uncancelled, but inoperative. When Elizabeth came to the throne the restoration of Protestantism was slowly and cautiously made. The Eleven Articles of Religion "set forth by the order of both archbishops metropolitans and the rest of the bishops for the uniformity of doctrine," mark a transition back towards a position more conservative than that which existed at the time of Edward's death. The seventh article acknowledges the English Book of Common Prayer to be "agreeable to the Scripture and

[1] Liturgies of Edward VI., p. 517.

[2] Hardwick, "Hist. Arts.," Appendix, III.

catholic and apostolic and most for the advancing of God's glory." The ninth and tenth articles simply reject the Romish view of the Eucharist. But the Third Prayer Book, ordered into use June 24, 1559, combined the words of administration of both the Edwardine books. These formulæ leave the matter in doubt, since they, as well as the prayers, might be strained into a Lutheran meaning. We must fall back upon contemporaneous documents and explanatory writings. The twenty-eighth of the Thirty-nine Articles omits the clause about the location of the body of Christ in heaven. This manifestly points in the direction of a Lutheran conservatism. But the article makes no mention of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and declares: "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith." This, by making *faith* the *means* of reception, gives finally a Calvinistic turn to the article. It also throws light back upon the Prayer Book, and fully justifies the late Dr. Krauth in speaking "of Calvinism in particular changes in the Book of Common Prayer, and, most of all, in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper."[1] All of which is confirmed by the correspondence of Jewel, who was the final reviser of the Thirty-nine Articles. Passing by numerous letters to the other Zurichers, we quote from several written to Peter Martyr. In one, dated April 28, 1559, he says: "We have presented to the Queen all the articles of our religion and doctrine, and not in the smallest point have we differed from the Zurich confession."[2]

In another, dated November 6, 1560, he writes: "That volatile Ubiquitarian doctrine cannot by any means gain a footing among us." Again, February 7, 1562, he writes: "As to matters of doctrine, we have pared every thing away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth; for, as to the Ubiquitarian theory,

[1] "Conservative Reformation," Preface, p. 9.

[2] Jewel's Works, 1, p. 207 (Parker Society edition).

there is no danger in this country."[1] These uncomplimentary references to the Lutheran doctrine reveal the position of the final reviser of the Thirty-nine Articles, and therefore the meaning of the twenty-eighth article. Moreover, in the Apology, which has almost the authority of a public standard, Jewel says: "We eat him [Christ] by faith, by understanding, by the spirit." "In celebrating these mysteries, the people are to good purpose exhorted, before they come to receive the holy communion, to lift up their hearts, and to direct their minds to heavenward; because he is there, by whom we must be full, fed, and live." This clearly enough locates the body of Christ in heaven.

That the whole English Church was now committed to this view of the Supper is further shown by Nowell's Catechism, prepared in 1562, approved by a committee of the Upper House, March 3, 1563, and allowed by Convocation in 1570. It is, therefore, a standard of faith.

"*M.* Sith we be in the earth, and Christ's body in heaven, how can that be that thou sayest?" viz., that believers are partakers of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament.

"*S.* We must lift our souls and hearts from earth, and raise them up by faith to heaven, where Christ is.

"*M.* Sayest thou then the mean to receive the body and blood of Christ standeth upon faith?

"*S.* Yea. For when we believe that Christ died to deliver us from death, and that he rose again to procure us life, we are partakers of the redemption purchased by his death, and of his life, and all other his good things."[2]

Here we bring our study to a close. The Articles and the Liturgy, which were composed and revised contemporaneously, are standards of authority as regards the doctrines of the English Church. Any obscurities which may be found in them must be explained from contemporaneous events, and from the writings of their chief composers and revisers. Following this method of examination and interpretation,

[1] Zurich Letters, 1558–1579, pp. 92, 100; Jewel's Works, Apology, p. 64.

[2] Parker Society's edition, p. 213.

the conclusion reached is that the English Church finally settled down into the doctrine of a real spiritual presence of Christ in the Supper, and that faith is the instrument by which the communicant is made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, who as to his human nature is located in heaven.

However much this final conclusion may oppose the preferences and prejudices of the writer, it nevertheless seems to be the conclusion required by the facts. In the English Church, as in every other, the expounders of the standards have not always expressed themselves alike. But Bishop Brown thinks "they have agreed, as Hooker says, that 'Christ is *personally* present; albeit a part of Christ be *corporeally* absent'; that 'the fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ'—but that 'the real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament (*i. e.*, in the elements), but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament,'"[1] which differs from the Lutheran view, with which the English Church began her reformatory career, chiefly in this, that according to that view the *whole* theanthropic Christ is really and truly present in the Sacrament *(in, cum, sub pane et vino)*, and is presented "to all them who receive the Sacrament."

Looking back now over what we have written, we find that the English Church passed through the following vicissitudes in her doctrine of the Lord's Supper between the years 1536 and 1571—the latter year being the date of the final revision and correction of the Articles by Convocation: (*a*) In forsaking Transubstantiation she expressed her faith in the Lutheran conception and in language drawn from Lutheran models. (*b*) She then returned in the Six Articles to Transubstantiation. (*c*) Her next change was to the adoption of the Lutheran view, drawing again largely from Lutheran sources, principally from Hermann's "Consultation." (*d*) Subjected to strong pressure from Geneva and to a somewhat radical Protestant sentiment at home, she changes again, and now expresses herself according to a Zwinglian concep-

[1] Brown's "Exposition of Arts.," p. 715. Hooker's "Eccl. Pol.," v., xlii.

tion, or at least in an attenuated Calvinistic view. (*e*) Passing by the Marian episode we find her finally settling down to a Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which turns away very far from the Zwinglian view of a bare remembrance, and approximates very closely to the Lutheran doctrine, but which cannot be identified with it, in that, according to the one doctrine the communion takes place in heaven, according to the other the communion takes place here on earth ; according to the one the communion takes place by means of faith, according to the other the communion takes place through the visible elements. They both agree in this, that without faith it is impossible to receive any salutary fruit from the Sacrament.

VILLEGAIGNON

VILLEGAIGNON:

FOUNDER AND HISTORIAN OF THE FIRST HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD.

BY THOMAS EDWARD VERMILYE SMITH,

New York City.

The name of Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon when mentioned by Huguenot writers is usually accompanied by expressions of contempt and intense hatred. He has been called "the Cain of South America" and "a true savage among savages," while Theodore Beza with more elaborate animosity has denounced him as "a man distinctly resembling the Cyclops Polyphemus both in the vast mass of his body and the ferocity of his nature."[1] The object of these execrations was born about the year 1510 in Provins, a French town some fifty miles to the southeast of Paris, where his father, Louis Durand, held an honorable position under the government.[2] His education was received in Paris, where he is said to have been a fellow-student with Calvin; but their ways soon parted as in 1530 Villegaignon became a Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and spent the rest of his days in the profession of arms in which, having a sturdy frame and stubborn courage, he achieved

[1] Beza, "Icones Virorum Illustrium," 69, 4to ed., Geneva, 1580.

[2] Louis Durand occupied several of the offices of state to Villegaignon and was appointed to several offices which he held until his death in 1536. Upon his death, moreover, a maid of honor to Queen Claude of France, Jeanne de Pierrevive, was appointed to succeed her father, Louis Durand, in his offices, including eight mills and the dungeons. A genealogy of the family is to be found in the "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. i., p. 1035; Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1857.

most honorable eminence.[1] When, in October, 1541, the forces of the Emperor Charles V., in the midst of a violent storm, were completely routed by a night-sally from the city of Algiers, Villegaignon distinguished himself by dragging from his horse and slaying with his dagger a Moor who had inflicted a spear-wound upon his left arm.[2] After escaping from this scene of disaster the Knights of St. John, of whom one hundred and thirty had joined the Emperor's army, returned to Malta, but Villegaignon made his way to Rome, where, while recovering from his wounds, he wrote in excellent Latin a history of the expedition.[3] In July, 1542, after visiting the imperial camp in Hungary, he appears in Venice awaiting the orders of Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langey, the viceroy of Piedmont.[4] Upon his return to France he apparently gave his attention more especially to the naval service, as in June, 1548, he was sent to Scotland with the French fleet to assist in repelling an English invasion. While the French army was besieging the town of Haddington, Villegaignon with four galleys set sail from Leith, where the French fleet was harbored, and steered towards France, but soon turned northward, and, skirting the entire coast of Scotland, cast anchor at the foot of Dumbarton Castle, thus making a voyage never before made by galleys.[5] At Dumbarton, on the 7th of August, 1548, Mary, Queen of Scots, then in her sixth year, embarked with her retinue in Villegaignon's galleys, and the latter, leaving behind him a

[1] Vertot, "Histoire de l'Ordre de Malte," vol. vii., pp. 195, 198, Paris, 1819. Villiers de l'Isle Adam, then Grand Master of this Order, was Villegaignon's uncle.

[2] Vertot, vol. iv., p. 112.

[3] "Caroli V., Imperatoris, expeditio in Africam ad Argeriam," Paris and Strasburg, 1542. This account has been reprinted in Schard's "Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores Varii," tom II., pp, 365–370, Giessen, 1673, and has been more recently edited by H. D. de Grammont, Paris, 1874, with an excellent biographical preface.

[4] Villegaignon to Cardinal du Bellay, Venice, July 15th, 1542, "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. ii., p. 1101.

[5] "Having thus maid a jornay quilk wes nevir to any mannis rememberance attempted afoir be gallayis."—Bishop Lesley's "History of Scotland," Bannatyne Club edition, p. 209.

pursuing English fleet under Admiral Clinton, made good his escape to France, landing his royal passenger at Brest on the 15th of August.[1] After this exploit Villegaignon apparently remained in France until 1551, when, hearing that the Turks were preparing an expedition against the knights of his order in Malta, he hastened thither to warn the Grand Master Jean d'Omédes of his danger. The latter was inclined to disregard the warning, but a Turkish fleet besieging the city of Malta soon proved the truth of Villegaignon's assertions, and d'Omédes, who was not friendly to him, gladly sent him into the city at the request of its governor. Accompanied by but six French knights he succeeded in passing through the Turkish lines by night and so encouraged the garrison by his presence and assistance that the city was successfully defended. His relations with the Grand Master, however, were hostile, and, after a violent quarrel with him, Villegaignon returned to France where he published an account of the siege of Malta and a defence of the French knights who took part in it.[2]

Soon after his return to France he was appointed Vice-Admiral of Brittany, but a quarrel with the governor of the castle of Brest regarding its fortifications, and a decision by the king in favor of the governor, raised a spirit of restlessness in him and caused him to enter upon the scheme which brought the hatred of the Huguenots upon him. Having heard an interesting account of a voyage to Brazil, he determined to visit that country, and, being without means of his own, he suggested to Admiral Coligny the advantages of founding in that far country a refuge from the religious persecution with which the Huguenots were then overwhelmed. That Villegaignon had any real regard for the welfare of the Huguenots is

[1] Lesley's "History of Scotland," p. 209. Labanoff, "Lettres et Mémoires de Marie Stuart," vol. i., p. 2. Mignet, "Marie Stuart," p. 30, Paris, 1877. Queen Mary was accompanied in her flight by her natural brother James Stuart, Lords Erskine and Levingston, Lady Fleming, the four Marys, and a retinue of some two hundred gentlemen and servants.

[2] Vertot, vol. iv., p. 168 *et seq.* Villegaignon's account of this siege was entitled "De Bello Melitensi et ejus eventu Francis imposito," Paris, 1553.

more than doubtful, and it has been asserted that from the beginning he intended to set a snare for them, but Coligny looked upon his plan favorably, and by strongly portraying the commercial advantages of the scheme to Henry II. of France, obtained a royal grant of three vessels and 10,000 livres for the expedition. The proposed voyage was announced in Paris with the sound of the trumpet, in order that those who wished to see the ocean and foreign lands, might enroll their names at Villegaignon's lodgings, but, being unable to attract a sufficient number of adventurers by this means, he was finally compelled to take the least villainous prisoners from the jails of Paris in order to complete his company.[1] With a motley crew of soldiers, sailors, noblemen, and artisans, some of whom were Huguenots, he set sail from Honfleur on the afternoon of July 12, 1555, with two vessels of two hundred tons burden each, drawing two and a half fathoms of water, accompanied by a transport of one hundred tons burden laden with provisions for the voyage. Of artillery and ammunition he had a plentiful supply, but no provisions were carried for the support of his followers after they should reach their destination, as it was supposed that the country would furnish food in plenty. After two days' sailing, however, he was compelled by a storm to anchor off the coast of England whence he made for the harbor of Dieppe, which was entered on the 17th of

[1] "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. i., p. 38. Among the more respectable of his followers were André Thevet, the cosmographer, who has been rightly described as "a notable liar," and Nicholas Barré, the author of an account of this voyage, who subsequently was a member of the unfortunate expedition led by Ribaut to Florida in 1562.

The poet Ronsard, in a "Discours contre Fortune," dedicated to Odet de Coligny, writes:

> "Je veux aucunefois abandonner ce monde
> Et hazarder ma vie aux fortunes de l'onde
> Pour arriver au bord auquel Villegaignon
> Sous le pole Antarctique a semé vostre nom."

He was, however, obliged to remain in France and to be satisfied with making a humorous complaint against Villegaignon's efforts to impose the miseries of civilization upon the free and happy savages of Brazil.—"Œvres Complétes de Pierre Ronsard," vol. vi., p. 166, Paris, 1866.

July. Here a number of his company, having seen the sea, took leave of him, while the remainder spent three weeks in repairing the ships and awaiting favorable winds; but, as the latter did not blow, the expedition returned to Havre where it remained until, on the 14th of August, sail was again set and the fleet went on its way toward Brazil. No untoward event occurred until Teneriffe was approached for the purpose of obtaining fresh water, on the 1st of September, when the Spaniards warned Villegaignon's boats from the shore by a discharge of cannon which wounded his second in command. The course was then set along the coast of Africa, Cape Blanc being passed on the 19th of September. Here the tropical heat caused an outbreak of fever which prostrated ninety out of the one hundred occupants of Villegaignon's ship and caused his removal to the other vessel, while calms and contrary winds added to the distress arising from poor provisions and bad water. The equator was crossed, with the usual antics on the part of the sailors, on the 10th of October, near the island of St. Thomas, whither contrary winds had driven Villegaignon far from his true course, but, turning westward, he passed Ascension Island on October 20th, and finally sighted the coast of South America near south latitude 20° on the 3rd of November, 1555. As that point was occupied by the Portuguese, he sailed farther south, and on the 10th of November, 1555, entered a bay at the mouth of a river called Ganabara by the natives, but Janeiro by the Portuguese, because of its discovery by Pedro Lopez de Souza on the 1st of January, 1531.[1] The entrance to this bay was about half a league in width, and upon a small rock a short distance within it Villegaignon erected a wooden fort, but, as the tide flooded the rock, he soon removed to a larger island nearer the shore, which he named the Island of

[1] The coast of Brazil was first explored by Cabral in the year 1500. It is said that a stone tower was erected at Rio de Janeiro in 1531, and that some condemned felons were left there, after whose massacre by the natives the place was deserted. In 1525 French merchants began to trade with the natives in that vicinity, and continued to do so up to the time of Villegaignon's arrival. Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 400, Geneva, 1618.

Coligny, giving to the whole region the appellation of Antarctic France.[1]

The island of Coligny, which was about six hundred paces long by one hundred paces wide, was admirably adapted for purposes of defence, being so surrounded by rocks that vessels could not approach it, nor could small boats make a landing except on the side toward the harbor. No water, however, was found on it, except such as was collected in a cistern. Upon a rock about fifty feet high, near the centre of the island, Villegaignon erected a rude residence, there being on the one side of it a hut used as a church and on the other side a rough building in which a number of his followers found refuge. As danger was to be feared from both the Portuguese and the natives, all of his company were immediately employed in throwing up earthworks, strengthened by stone, for the protection of his artillery; a work which, having to be done without the assistance of animals and without proper food to support the strength of the laborers, soon brought about a mutiny among the colonists. The morals of the community were looked after with great care, Villegaignon himself acting as minister to its spiritual wants; but, as assistance was needed in both spiritual and temporal matters, one of his ships was sent back to France on the 4th of February, 1556, bearing letters to the king and Coligny, as well as to the magistrates of Geneva, requesting that ministers and artisans might be sent to Antarctic France from that city.[2] In response to this call for more colonists, Coligny requested Philippe de Courquilleray or Du Pont, who had formerly been his neighbor in France but was now in Geneva, to organize an expedition from that city for the purpose of assisting Villegaignon and redeeming the savage natives of Brazil from heathenism. Accordingly, two

[1] Lescarbot, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," pp. 148–157, Paris, 1609. The account of this voyage, printed by Lescarbot, is said to have been written by Nicholas Barré.

[2] This was probably the vessel upon which Thevet states that he sailed for France on the 31st of January, 1556, under command of Villegaignon's nephew Bois-Lecomte. Thevet's "Singularités de la France Antarctique," p. 115, Anvers, 1558.

Genevese ministers, Pierre Richer, aged fifty years, and Guillaume Chartier, aged thirty years, were chosen to found a Reformed Church in Brazil, while eleven Genevese artisans volunteered to accompany them, among them being Jean de Lery, who, in 1578, published a history of their voyage.[1]

The two ministers left Geneva on the 8th of September, 1556, accompanied by Du Pont and the rest of the party,[2] who, after visiting Coligny, at his residence in Chatillon-sur-Loin, proceeded to Paris, where they remained a month. Thence they passed through Rouen to Honfleur, where some weeks more were spent in fitting out the vessels in which they were to sail under the command of Villegaignon's nephew, the sieur Bois-Lecomte.[3] Finally, after being joined by a greater number of Huguenots from Paris, Champagne, and Normandy than their ships could accommodate, they embarked, on the 19th of November, 1556, in three ships: *La Petite Roberge*, under command of Bois-Lecomte, containing eighty persons; *La Grande Roberge*, commanded by the sieur de Sainte-Marie or l'Espine, with a company of one hundred and twenty persons; and *La Rosée*, with ninety passengers, among whom were five young boys who were to learn the Brazilian language, and five young women who were to become wives of colonists. Their voyage was pros-

[1] De Lery, "Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil," p. 7, 5th edition, Geneva, 1611. De Lery was born in 1534 in Margelle in Burgundy, and is said by Thevet to have been a shoemaker when he went to Brazil. After his return to France he became a minister, and was in the town of Sancerre during its famous siege in 1573, of which he wrote a most remarkable account, published in 1574, in which (p. 147) he compares the cannibalism to which the inhabitants of Sancerre were reduced to that which he had witnessed among the savages of Brazil. From Sancerre he went to Berne, where he was befriended by François Coligny, a son of the admiral, to whom he dedicated the history of his Brazilian voyage, written as a reply to false statements in Thevet's Cosmography. His subsequent life is unknown, although some writers mention 1611 as the year of his death.

[2] Des Gallars to Calvin, Sept. 16, 1556, "Calvini Opera," tom. xvi., col. 279, Brunswick, 1877. Lescarbot states that the Genevese expedition consisted of forty persons in addition to the artisans. Lescarbot, p. 163.

[3] At Honfleur they were attacked on account of their religion, and one of their number, a Captain St. Denis, who professed to know the location of gold mines in Brazil, was slain.

perous until they reached the Fortunate or Canary Isles, when their provisions and water began to fail, and their sailors began to plunder such English, Spanish, and Portuguese ships as came in their way. On the 4th of February, 1557, the equator was crossed, and on the 26th of that month they reached the coast of Brazil at a mountainous point called Huvasson, where they traded with a tribe of natives called Margyas. Thence sailing south they passed, at 20° south latitude, the Portuguese Fort Spiritus Sanctus, with which they exchanged harmless cannon-shots, and, after nearly suffering shipwreck on three small islands called Makhé, they reached Cape Frio, where they traded with the natives and obtained news of Paycolas, as Villegaignon was called by the Brazilians. On the 7th of March, 1557, they entered the harbor of Janeiro, where they were welcomed by a salute from the fort and every indication of joy on the part of the colonists.[1] After the first greetings, Du Pont informed Villegaignon that his party had taken this perilous voyage for the purpose of founding a Reformed Church in Brazil according to his request, and Villegaignon, after stating that he had long desired such a church, piously raised his eyes to heaven and offered a thanksgiving for their safe arrival. Then the company entered the hut used as a place of worship and sang the 5th Psalm, after which Richer preached a sermon from the 26th Psalm, during which Villegaignon clasped his hands, raised his eyes, and sighed in a most edifying manner.[2] Within a week after the arrival of the Genevese the government of the colony, both civil and ecclesiastical, was placed in the hands of a council of ten members under the presidency of Villegaignon, and an order of religion was established by the holding of public prayers every evening and the preaching of a sermon one hour in length each working day and twice on Sunday. Before the first administration of the Holy Communion, on the 21st of March, the ministers strictly catechised the congregation and refused the sacrament to the sailors and other Roman Catho-

[1] De Lery, pp. 7–62. Lescarbot, pp. 163–182.
[2] Lescarbot, p. 183. De Lery, p. 64.

lics, who were pronounced to be incapable of partaking of such a mystery; but Villegaignon, kneeling on a velvet cushion, made a most acceptable confession of his faith in two long prayers, which he uttered with a loud voice.

Up to this time his actions were most agreeable to the Calvinists, and when, on the 1st of April, 1557, Nicholas Carmeau, one of the Genevese, returned to France on the ship *La Rosée*, he bore a most affectionate letter from Villegaignon to Calvin. In it the writer expresses his delight at the arrival of the ministers, before whose coming he had been compelled to act both as magistrate and minister, although the fate of King Uzziah had warned him from that manner of life. He states that the region to which he had come was void of suitable provisions, and that the natives were so barbarous that he sometimes thought that he had found a race of beasts endowed with the semblance of human beings. Those who had followed him out of friendship had returned to France because of the hardships of Brazil, and he himself had been somewhat discouraged by these difficulties; but when he remembered that the declared object of his voyage had been the promotion of Christ's kingdom, he felt that his name would be justly dishonored if any labor or peril should deter him from his undertaking. In order to prevent his followers from consorting with unbelievers, he had settled upon an island two thousand paces from the mainland, where they would be removed from temptation; but twenty-six of them, led away by the desire of pleasure, had conspired against his life. Their plans, however, had been revealed to him, and with but five armed servants he had seized four of their leaders and compelled the others to lay down their arms. Of those whom he had seized one had drowned himself, one had been put to death, and the other two had been sentenced to work the ground in chains as slaves. The letters which Calvin had sent to him by the ministers had been read in the Council, and, by his command, had been written down in its minutes, in order that if at any time they should depart from his advice they might be led back from their error by reading them.

He closed his epistle with the words: "Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve you and your colleagues from all evil, strengthen you with his spirit, and prolong your life for the work of his church."[1] By the same vessel Richer and Chartier also sent letters to Geneva, in which they speak of Villegaignon as their "father and brother," and a most eminent example of true piety. They found that portion of Brazil, however, to be a most desolate region, and they were dismayed at the ignorance and stupidity of the natives, whom they described as "the very members of Satan."[2]

But this peaceable state of affairs was not to be of long duration. Among those who had come in Villegaignon's company was one Jean Cointat or Hector, a former student of the Sorbonne, who soon claimed that before leaving France he had been promised episcopal jurisdiction over the colony. At the first communion season this individual had been strictly catechised as to his belief by the ministers, and had given satisfactory answers to their questions, but he resented their examination and soon brought to Villegaignon's attention several matters upon which he differed from them. He demanded that unleavened bread and consecrated vestments and vessels should be used at the Lord's Supper, and that the sacrament of baptism should be administered with salt, oil, and water. These demands he supported by quotations from the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, and when Villegaignon learned that Clement had mixed water with the communion wine he insisted that this should be done, in spite of protests on the part of the ministers. Violent disputes arose with regard to these matters, and as Cointat had some learning and was ready of speech, Villegaignon was drawn more and more toward his views and showed his approval of

[1] Villegaignon to Calvin, March 31, 1557, "Calvini Opera," tom. xvi., col. 437. De Lery, p. 79. The conspiracy against Villegaignon arose on the 6th of February, 1556, and was partly caused by scarcity of provisions and the hard labor required of the colonists. Lescarbot, p. 160. Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 400, Geneva, 1618

[2] Richer to ———, March 31, 1557; Richer and Chartier to Calvin, April 1, 1557, "Calvini Opera," tom. xvi., col. 434, 440.

him by giving him in marriage one of the young women who had come from France, the ceremony being performed by Richer on the 17th of May, 1557.[1] Soon after this wedding, on the occasion of two other marriages, Richer preached a sermon regarding the baptism of St. John, in which he took occasion to denounce those who introduced salt and oil in baptism as falsifiers and ill-advised persons. At this statement Villegaignon became enraged and, after the sermon, violently upbraided Richer, declaring that those who had introduced that custom were of far more account than Richer and his like, and that he would never disregard that which had been observed for a thousand years, to follow the teachings of a new sect like the Calvinists.[2] He then forbade Richer to preach or conduct religious services, but was finally persuaded to submit the disputed questions to the decision of the Reformed Churches of France, and to allow Richer to preach, provided that he should not administer the sacraments or speak against the disputed articles. In pursuance of this agreement Chartier sailed for France on the 4th of June, 1557, to obtain a decision upon the matters in controversy, the ship being laden with Brazilian products and also carrying ten native boys who had been captured in war by the savages and sold to Villegaignon as slaves. As soon, however, as the vessel had left the land, Villegaignon declared that he would accept no decision except that of the Sorbonne in religious matters; he caused lectures upon the Gospel of St. John to be given by Cointat, and he openly declared that Calvin was a heretic devoid of the true faith. This was followed by a demand upon Richer to subscribe to the doctrines of transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, invocation of saints, purgatory, and prayers for the dead, and upon his refusal to do so he was forbidden to preach, the Council was dissolved, and Villegaignon took the government of the colony into his own hands. Even Cointat

[1] Lescarbot, p. 197. De Lery, p. 81. This young woman was a daughter of a colonist named La Roquette, of Rouen, who had died in Brazil. Two of the five Frenchwomen had already been married on the 3d of April, 1557, and the remaining two were married soon after Cointat.

[2] Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 402, Geneva, 1618.

objected to some of his demands, and, upon accusing him of having broken faith, was banished to the mainland with a number of others whom Villegaignon regarded as useless mouths. This sudden change in Villegaignon's opinions has been attributed to a letter received from Cardinal Lorraine upbraiding him for having deserted the Roman Catholic faith; but, from whatever cause it may have arisen, he from this time treated the Genevese with increasing severity. Immediately after their arrival in Brazil, notwithstanding the insufficiency of their food, they had been put to the hardest manual labor in carrying earth and stones to the fort, but their complaints had then been quieted by Richer, who announced that in Villegaignon they had found a second St. Paul. Now, however, when that delusion was dissipated by his repeated acts of cruelty, they were more bold, and when two of their number were condemned to be placed in irons, for an offence of which they were innocent, they openly defied Villegaignon, although Richer advised them to submit for the sake of peace.[1] As the malcontents were sufficient in number to accomplish his overthrow, some of them desired to cast him into the sea and to take the government into their own hands, but the fear of Admiral Coligny's disapproval seems to have deterred them from taking that course.[2] They, however, refused to do further work upon the fort, for which insubordination they were deprived of the two cups of root flour which had been their daily allowance, and toward the end of October, 1557, Villegaignon ordered Du Pont's party to leave his island. They then settled in a village on the mainland, whither others had already gone, and remained there about two months, while rumors, carried to and fro, added to the hatred of both parties. Du Pont was told that Villegaignon regretted that he had not put them all to death and was declaring that they would suffer if they again fell into his hands, while, on the

[1] De Lery, pp. 92, 93.

[2] In their letter to Calvin, of April 1, 1557, Richer and Chartier speak of of Coligny as "one who partly by his authority, partly by his advice, and partly at his own expense, has laid the foundation of this church." "Calvini Opera," tom. xvi., col. 440.

other hand, Villegaignon was informed that Du Pont intended to settle on a large island about three leagues from that of Coligny, and with assistance from France, would overthrow his authority. Alarmed by these rumors and fearing that others of his own company might join Du Pont's party, Villegaignon then determined to separate those who were discontented, and accordingly sent twenty-one of his followers in a vessel to the River Platte to search for a gold mine, while he refused to allow the Genevese to return to France in another of his ships which he declared to be unseaworthy. But at this juncture, a ship called *Le Jacques*, sent by influential Frenchmen to find another place of retreat, arrived in the harbor of Janeiro, and with its captain Du Pont at once made arrangements by which sixteen persons were to be carried to France for the sum of one hundred écus. The captain, Faribau of Rouen by name, refused, however, to take them on board his vessel without Villegaignon's permission, which was at first refused. But when Du Pont declared that they would if necessary go without it, Villegaignon reluctantly gave them their dismissal, taking his revenge by obtaining doctrinal statements from Richer, which were written down for future use without his knowledge, and by sending secret letters by Captain Faribau, to be delivered to the first magistrate whom he might meet in France, in which Du Pont's party were denounced as heretics worthy of death.[1]

When the vessel had received its cargo of Brazil wood, pepper, cotton, sago, monkeys, and paroquets, the Genevese took leave of Antarctic France on the 4th of January, 1558, only to exchange a miserable existence on the land for a more wretched one on the sea. When but eight days of their voyage had elapsed, with but little progress of the ship, a storm caused a leak which endangered their lives and ruined their provisions. Five of their number returned to Brazil in a small boat, while the remaining forty of the ship's company, after suffering indescribable tortures, their number

[1] Lescarbot, pp. 201–204. De Lery, pp. 434–437. Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 403, 404.

decreased by death and the survivors reduced to the last extremities by famine and fever, finally landed on the coast of Brittany on the 26th of May, 1558.[1]

Of the five Genevese who returned to Brazil, three were destined to be the first Protestants to suffer death for their faith in America. These five, whose names were Jacques le Balleur, Jean Bordel, Pierre Bourdon, André Lefon, and Matthieu Vermeil, took to the boat about twenty leagues from the shore, and being entirely ignorant of navigation were at the mercy of the waves. Making sails of their clothes, they floated for four days in a calm, but on the fifth day, as they approached the land a violent storm arose, which, on the morning of the sixth day, cast them ashore at the foot of a high mountain. Here they were unable to find fresh water, but after proceeding four leagues farther they reached the Rivière des Vases, thirty leagues from the Island of Coligny, where they received food from the natives and rested four days. Then re-embarking they rowed toward Villegaignon's settlement, at which they arrived in three days. They found Villegaignon at the village on the mainland, and, after stating the reason for their return, begged him to receive them again, saying that if the matter of religious belief were the only cause for his not doing so, such questions were far from settled among men much more learned than themselves, and that he himself had at one time been of a different opinion. His response to this appeal was kindly, and, after congratulating them upon their escape from shipwreck, he restored them to all privileges, upon condition that they should refrain from advancing any heretical propositions regarding religion. For twelve days they remained undisturbed, but Villegaignon suspected that they had been sent back as spies by Du Pont, and, fearing that Du Pont's party and those who had been sent to the River Platte were waiting together to return suddenly and overthrow him, he determined to make away with them. His attack upon

[1] De Lery, p. 437 *et seq.* Villegaignon's letters fell into the hands of those who favored the Huguenots and therefore failed to produce the result which he desired.

them came in the form of a confession of faith, so framed as to offend the consciences of Calvinists, to which they were required to subscribe within twelve hours. But, instead of so doing, they chose Jean Bordel, who was the oldest and best educated among them, to draw up a confession of faith as a reply to Villegaignon, to which Bordel, Bourdon, Lefon, and Vermeil signed their names.[1] Upon reading this document, Villegaignon decided that they were heretics who should not be allowed to live; but he gave no intimation of his plans until on the 9th of February, 1558, he ordered that they should be brought before him from the mainland. Although urged to make their escape, they obeyed his order, with the exception of Bourdon, who was too ill to move, and upon their refusal to retract their confession of faith they were cast into prison. Early in the following morning Villegaignon visited Bordel in prison, and upon his repeated refusal to recant, after brutally striking him with his fist, he ordered the executioner to lead him to the top of a high rock, whence he was hurled into the sea and drowned. Vermeil was then led to the same spot, and after reproaching Villegaignon for his cruelty and begging for his life, but refusing to recant, was executed in the same manner. Lefon, who was the tailor of the colony and on that account a valuable member of it, was persuaded to recant, and was pardoned. These executions took place before nine o'clock in the morning and were known to but few of the colonists, but, later in the day, Villegaignon proceeded to the mainland and caused Bourdon, who was too ill to rise from his bed, to be bound and carried in a boat to the place of execution, where he was strangled and then cast into the sea.[2]

[1] This confession of faith is given in full in Crespin's "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 415, 416. It contains seventeen articles on the Trinity, the Lord's Supper, baptism, free-will, priestly absolution of sins, laying on of hands, divorce, celibacy, invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead.

[2] Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 416, 417. Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," vol. ii., p. 129, London, 1684. Beza, "Icones," sig. Aa iv., Geneva, 1580. De Lery states that reliable witnesses of these events, who left Brazil about four months after their occurrence, related them to Du Pont in Paris, and, having written out an account of them, sent it to De Lery, by whom it was sent to Crespin for publication in his martyrology. De Lery, p. 484.

The history of Antarctic France as a place of Huguenot refuge from persecution closes with this tragedy. Villegaignon remained on the Island of Coligny for some months after its occurrence, but becoming weary of his surroundings returned to France, leaving the government of the colony in the hands of Bois-Lecomte. In the early part of 1560 Mem de Sá, the Portuguese commander at San Vincente, who had been watching the French settlers with a jealous eye, dispatched a fleet of twenty-two boats with two thousand men against Fort Coligny, where his forces arrived on the 21st of February. As his attack was entirely unexpected, Bois-Lecomte and the greater part of the French were absent on the mainland, but the handful of Frenchmen who were in the fort made a valiant defence until the 15th of March, 1560, when they capitulated and were promptly massacred by the Portuguese. Of those who escaped from the Portuguese the greater number were killed by the Brazilian savages, but a few found their way to France on a ship from China.[1] By this second tragedy the history of Antarctic France was closed forever, but the fortified island of Villegaignon in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro still bears witness by its name to its former occupation by Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon.[2]

[1] A letter by Mem de Sá, dated June 16, 1560, giving an account of the capture of Fort Coligny, is to be found in Pizzaro's "Memorias Historicas do Rio de Janeiro," tom. i., p. 12, Rio de Janeiro, 1820. De Sá states that Villegaignon had left the island eight or nine months before its capture by the Portuguese. Efforts of the French government to obtain redress from Portugal for the seizure of Fort Coligny were apparently without result. On the 5th of May, 1561, Jean Nicot, the French Ambassador at Lisbon, wrote to Charles IX. of France that since the seizure of that fort the conduct of the Queen Regent of Portugal toward him and toward French subjects in Portugal had been even worse than before that occurrence. In view of the contempt for Nicot displayed in Portugal, Catherine de' Medici, on the 5th of July, 1561, ordered him to return to France, after informing the Portuguese government that no other ambassador would be sent in his place. La Ferriére, "Lettres de Catherine de' Médicis," vol. i., p. 210, Paris, 1880.

[2] An interesting link between Villegaignon's settlement in Brazil and the subsequent settlement of the Puritans in New England is made by Cotton Mather in his "Magnalia," the first book of which begins with an account of the Huguenot settlement on the island of Coligny. After lamenting this loss

That restless spirit, upon his return to France, is said to have desired to lead an expedition for the purpose of preying upon the commerce of Spain and Portugal in the West Indies, but the turbulent state of France forbade such an enterprise, and he turned his attention to less distant objects. In March, 1560, in company with François de Lorraine, Grand Prior of France, he is said to have taken part in an absurd scheme for the defence of Amboise against the conspirators under La Renaudie, and, when that danger was past, he proceeded to Tours to turn from the error of his ways Simon Brossier, a minister of Loudun, who was imprisoned in that city for heresy; but Brossier is said to have confuted his arguments and covered him with ridicule.[1] After this controversy he directed his energy toward his former adversaries in Brazil, who had spread various reports derogatory to his character, and on the 6th of July, 1560, he addressed a letter to the magistrates of Geneva, stating that Richer, a Carmelite, had been sent by them to Brazil to give instruction in their religion and had been granted full facilities for so doing. Becoming interested in the matter, he himself had probed Richer's statements to the bottom, and had finally expelled his doctrines from the colony as tending toward the heresies of Marcion and Valentinus, or rather

of "a country intended for a receptacle of Protestant Churches on the American Strand," Mather writes: "'T is now time for me to tell my reader that in our age there has been another essay made not by French, but by English Protestants, to fill a certain country in America with Reformed Churches; nothing in doctrine, little in discipline, different from that of Geneva. Mankind will pardon me, a native of that country, if smitten with a just fear of incroaching and ill-bodied degeneracies, I shall use my modest endeavors to prevent the loss of a country so signalized for the profession of the purest Religion, and for the protection of God upon it, in that holy profession." This reference to Villegaignon by the great New England divine brings to mind two historic scenes: the one of the "apostate Governour" Villegaignon, on the 10th of February, 1558, standing beside his executioner on the rock whence three Huguenots were hurled into the sea; the other of Cotton Mather, seated on horseback, on the 19th of August, 1692, viewing the body of George Burroughs, "an unordained minister," as it swung on the gibbet on Witch Hill in Salem.

[1] Bayle's "Historical Dictionary," article Villegaignon, London, 1738. Brossier died at Perigeux in 1562 from the effects of repeated imprisonments. Crespin, "Histoire des Martyrs," fol. 601.

toward atheism. He now desired to argue these questions with Calvin or some other Genevan theologian before two members of Richer's party, two of his own, and two of the German Church, who were to act as judges under the presidency of the prince in whose dominions they might meet. His letter closed with the statement that he would await a reply in Paris for forty days.[1] Upon reading this letter on the 29th of July, 1560, the Council of Geneva gave the brief decision that he could wait as long as his obstinacy led him to do so.[2] Nor was Calvin, to whom a duplicate of this letter was sent, more satisfactory in his reply, for, according to the sworn statement of Boniface Marquis, who delivered the letter, Calvin after reading it trampled it beneath his feet and informed its bearer that that action was his sole reply to it.[3] Having thus failed to obtain a personal meeting with his opponents, Villegaignon put in print what he would have said had Calvin accepted his challenge, and published books both in French and Latin, in which he endeavored to controvert the doctrines of Richer and Calvin regarding the Lord's Supper.[4] The only portions of these works which

[1] Villegaignon to the Magistrates and Church of Geneva, Paris, July 6, 1560, "Calvini Opera," vol. xviii., col. 749.

[2] "Que daultant quil est opiniatre quil attende tant quil voudra." "Calvini Opera," vol. xxi., col. 734.

[3] Statement of Boniface Marquis in the preface to Villegaignon's book entitled "Les propositions contentieuses entre le chevalier de Villegaignon et Maistre Jehan Calvin concernant la verité de l'Eucharistе," Paris, 1561. The only reference to Villegaignon in Calvin's published letters is apparently to be found in a letter to Farel, dated February 24, 1558, in which Calvin writes: "I have received an apology of a certain madman whom we have sent to America where he badly defends a good cause by reason of the intemperateness of his brain." "Calvini Opera," vol. xvii., col. 63. The "apology" here mentioned was probably the articles of faith brought to France by Chartier for the decision of the churches.

[4] "Ad articulos Calvinianæ de Sacramento Eucharistiæ traditionis, ab ejus ministris in Francia Antarctica evulgatæ, responsiones," Paris, 1560. "Les Propositions contentieuses entre le chevalier de Villegaignon et Maistre Jehan Calvin concernant la verité de l'Eucharistе," Paris, 1561. The latter book is a French abridgment of the former, made, as is said by the author, at the command of Catherine de' Medici. As the letters-patent to the printer of these books are dated June 6, 1560, Villegaignon appears to have begun the writing of them a month before he challenged Calvin to a disputation.

relate to the Huguenot settlement in Brazil are contained in the preface. In a letter to the reader the author states that Calvin, moved by their ancient acquaintance, had sent ministers and artisans for his colony, who were joined in Paris by others, including Jean Cointat, a renegade Jacobin, who upheld the Augsburg Confession and opposed the doctrines of Calvin. This opposition had led Villegaignon to examine the matter himself and to demand a statement of his doctrine from Richer, which proved to be blasphemous and heretical. After a conflict with him for ten months the Genevese had embarked for France, but, having been informed by Cointat that Du Pont had proposed a mutiny by which his authority was to be overthrown, he suspected that they would return; and when five of them did return in a boat, of whom he recognized three as renegade monks, he demanded that they should return to the Roman Catholic faith; but, as they continued to be heretics and dangerous members of the community, he had drowned three of them and pardoned the other two.[1]

Following this is a letter from the author to the Constable Montmorenci, dated July 6, 1560, in which he defends himself against charges of atheism brought against him by the Calvinists; and to this is added his letter of July 6, 1560, to Calvin and the magistrates of Geneva, with a statement of the manner in which Calvin received it. His arguments against Richer are based upon two sworn statements by Pierre de la Faussile and Alberic Auberi, who, when in Brazil in September and December, 1557, had been sent by him to obtain doctrinal explanations from Richer upon the subject of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, prayers addressed to Christ, and the adoration of Christ. According to these statements Richer acknowledged a spiritual rather than a corporeal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, while he held that prayers should be addressed to God, which would include all the persons of the Trinity, and

[1] In point of fact, Bourdon was a turner, while Thevet, who upheld Villegaignon, states that Bordel was a cutler, and Vermeil a cabinet-maker. "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. ii., p. 1100.

that Christ should be adored as God but not in his human nature alone. These doctrines were opposed by Villegaignon in a small portion of his book, the greater part of which is filled with short paragraphs in reply to statements regarding the Lord's Supper taken from various writings by Calvin. As specimens of theological controversy these books are not strong, but the fever of argument was upon Villegaignon, and during the year 1561 he occupied his time in the publication of short pamphlets attacking Calvin, Marlorat, and Melanchthon.[1] These attacks were entirely disregarded by Calvin, but Richer made a reply to them, and a number of anonymous satires were published against Villegaignon to which he in turn replied.[2] But his sword was far mightier than his pen, and by its achievements he gained his chief distinction. At the siege of Rouen, in 1562, as he stood in the trenches beside the King of Navarre the cannon-shot which caused Navarre's death broke Villegaignon's leg and lamed him for the rest of his life. For two years his wound kept him in retirement, while the lack of energy displayed by

[1] "Paraphrase du chevalier Villegaignon sur la resolution des sacramens de Maistre Jehan Calvin," Paris, 1561; "Lettres du chevalier Villegaignon sur les remonstrances a la royne mere du roy, touchant la religion," Paris, May 10, 1561; "De Cœnæ controversiæ Philippi Melancthonis judicio," Paris, 1561; "De venerandissimo ecclesiæ sacrificio," Paris, 1562. The second of these pamphlets was a reply to a remonstrance against persecution written by Marlorat in 1561; the third attacked a paper presented by Melanchthon to the Elector Palatine in 1559 with regard to controversies raised at Heidelberg by Tilemann Heshuss; and the fourth was an attack upon Calvin and Peter Martyr Vermigli. Peter Boquin of Heidelberg replied to Villegaignon's attack upon Melanchthon in a book entitled "Justa defensio adversus injustam vim Heshusii et Villagagnonis de judicio P. Melancthonis," 1562.

[2] "Petri Richerii Apologetici libri duo, contra Nicolaum Durandum qui se Villagagnonem vocat," Geneva, 1561; "La Refutation des folles resveries, execrables blasphemes, erreurs et mensonges de Nicolas Durand, qui se nomme Villegagnon," par Pierre Richer, 1562. In 1560 Richer became minister at La Rochelle, where he died on the 8th of March, 1580. Graesse's "Dictionnaire Bibliographique" gives the following titles of satires against Villegaignon published in 1561: "La Réponse aux lettres de Nicolas Durant," "L'Estrille de Nicolas Durant," "La Souffisance de maistre Colas Durand," "L'Espousette des armoiries de Villegaignon," "L'Amende honorable de Nicolas Durand," "Le Leur de Nicolas Durant." In reply to these there appeared "La Réponse aux libelles d'injures publiés contre le chevalier de Villegaignon," Paris, 1561.

Charles IX. so disgusted him that he resigned all the estates and pensions which he had received, and he informed Catherine de' Medici that he would cease to serve the king until Charles should formally declare himself to be the enemy of the Huguenots. As the conduct of Philip II. of Spain, who was then supporting the powers of the Inquisition, was more pleasing to him he expressed the desire to enter his service, and in May, 1564, started to attend the Diet in Germany, whence he proposed to proceed to Rome, and thence to Spain.[1] In October, 1566, he writes to Cardinal Lorraine from the imperial camp at Javarin, a small town in Hungary, near Komorn, where he had been fighting the Turks; and when that congenial occupation was finished, finding the state of France to be equally suited to his warlike spirit, he re-entered the service of Charles IX., and in the latter part of 1567 he successfully defended the city of Sens against the Huguenots under the command of the Duke of Condé.[2]

In 1568 he was honored with the appointment of Ambassador of the Knights of Malta to the King of France, and in January, 1569, he was in Rome, apparently on a diplomatic mission; but in March of that year he again appears in France as the governor of the city of Montereau, whence he writes to the Duchess of Ferrara at Montargis, warning her to refrain from sheltering the Huguenot rebels in her neighborhood.[3] But even in the midst of civil war he found time to employ his pen against Calvinists and Lutherans, the last of his theological arguments being published in Paris in 1569 in the form of an attack upon the doctrines of Calvin, Beza,

[1] Villegaignon to Cardinal Granvella, Plombiéres, May 25 and 27, 1564, "Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle," vol. vii., pp. 660, 663. In a letter dated June 3, 1564, Cardinal Granvella recommended Villegaignon to the Imperial Vice-Chancellor, George Sigismund Seld, as a man of valor and scholarship; *ibid.*, p. 663, note.

[2] Villegaignon to Cardinal Lorraine, Javarin, October 11 and 14, 1566; to Catherine de' Medici, Sens, November 18, 1567; to Charles IX., December 26, 1567; and to the Duke of Anjou, February 1, 1568, "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. ii., App., pp. 1002–1007.

[3] Villegaignon to the Duc d'Aumale, Rome, Jan. 7, 1569; and to the Duchess of Ferrara, March 4, 1569, "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 1108, 1109.

and Valentine Vannius, regarding the Lord's Supper.[1] The hardships of long military service, however, were beginning to show their effects upon his health, and in the latter part of 1570, after resigning his ambassadorship from the Knights of Malta, he retired to his Maltese Commandery of Beauvais, a short distance from Pithiviers, where his life ended on the 9th of January, 1571.[2] His fellow-townsman, Claude Haton, declares that Villegaignon died after a life of honor in the king's house and of valiant championship of the Catholic Church with arms both spiritual and temporal. Of his valor and eminent services in war there can be no question, but three humble witnesses, Pierre Bourdon, Jean Bordel, and Matthieu Vermeil, arise to convict him of being one among many who have belied their profession of Christianity by the shedding of innocent blood.

[1] "De consecratione mystici Sacramenti et duplici Christi oblatione, adversus Vannium Lutherologiæ Professorem ; de Judaici Paschatis implemento, adversus Calvinologos ; de Pocula sanguinis Christi et introitu in sancta sanctorum, adversus Bezam," Paris, 1569. Hospinian, "Historia Sacramentaria," pars ii., p. 585, Geneva, 1681.

[2] "Mémoires de Claude Haton," vol. ii., App., p. 1096. In addition to the authorities cited in this paper, accounts of Villegaignon and his expedition to Brazil are to be found in the following works : Nicholas Barré, "Lettres sur la navigation du chevalier de Villegaignon," Paris, 1558, reprinted in De Bry, "Grands Voyages," part iii., p. 287. "Histoire des Choses Memorables advenues en la Terre de Brésil," Geneva, 1561. La Popeliniére, "Les trois mondes," book iii., pp. 3–18, Paris, 1582. De Beze, "Histoire Ecclesiastique," vol. i., p. 100, Lille, 1841. Thevet, "Cosmographie Universelle," vol. ii., p. 908, Paris, 1575. Spondanus, "Annales," tom. iii., p. 198, Ticino, 1682. De Thou, "Histoire Universelle," vol. ii., p. 647, London, 1734. Nicéron, "Mémoires des hommes illustres," vol. xxii., p. 306, Paris, 1733. Belcarius, "Rerum Gallicarum Commentarii," lib. 28, sec. 8, Lyons, 1625. Maimbourg, "Histoire de Calvinisme," pp. 100–105, Paris, 1682. Jurieu, "Calvinisme et Papisme mises en parallele," part ii., p. 552, Rotterdam, 1683. Moréri, "Dictionnaire Historique," supplement ii., p. 465, Paris, 1735. Charlevoix, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," vol. i., p. 23, Paris, 1744. Southey, "History of Brasil," vol. i., pp. 280–294, London, 1822. Constancio, "Historia do Brasil," vol. i., pp. 131–148, Paris, 1839. Guérin, "Navigateurs Français," p. 162, and "Marins Illustres," p. 231. De Grammont, in the preface to his edition of Villegaignon's "Expedition de Charles-Quint contre Alger," Paris, 1874. Parkman, "Pioneers of France in the New World," p. 16. Haag, "La France Protestante," vol. iv., p. 488.

REPORT ON A PROPOSED SERIES OF DENOMINATIONAL HISTORIES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

REPORT ON A PROPOSED SERIES OF DENOMINATIONAL HISTORIES TO BE PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

By ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D.,

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It seems unfortunate that a matter of so great importance as the enterprise before us should run the risk of receiving less attention than it deserves from wanting a worthier advocate. It may not be out of place if I relate some of the circumstances that have led to my occupying the present position.

Early in 1887, in a conversation with Dr. Schaff, I learned with regret that it was not his intention to continue his admirable "History of the Christian Church" beyond the middle of the seventeenth century. His determination to close his work at this date was due, as I remember, to two considerations—advancing age and fulness of occupation, and the complexity of more recent Church history that makes it more suitable for monographic treatment than for treatment in general works. This conversation suggested to me the desirability of a uniform series of denominational histories, written, as far as possible, in the spirit of Dr. Schaff's general history, and, in a sense, forming a continuation of that work. My thought was that each monograph should be prepared by one of the best qualified Church historians of the denomination of which it should treat, and that the series should be prepared under a general editorship. Among the considerations that presented themselves to my mind in favor of such a co-operative series were the following:

1. The contributors to such a series would feel bound, in view of the wide and critical circle of readers addressed, and having before their eyes the critical scrutiny of the MSS. by the general editor, to put their very best thought and effort into their monographs.

2. While each writer would have every inducement to exhibit his denomination in the most favorable light that the facts of history would warrant, it would be impossible for him to write in complete disregard of the rights of other denominations to favorable consideration. Thus the character of the readers addressed would minister to fairness of treatment in matters of controversy, and could scarcely fail to secure the production of works decidedly irenical in spirit.

3. As the circumstances under which such a series should be prepared would be favorable to the production of peculiarly valuable works, so also might large irenical results be expected in the readers. With rare exceptions, denominational histories do not circulate widely outside the denomination. While professional Church historians and a few scholarly ministers make it a point to read valuable histories of other denominations than their own, however published, such works rarely come into the hands of the rank and file of the laity or clergy of other denominations than those by which and for which they are specially prepared. A wide reading of histories of all the denominations, prepared, according to the plan suggested, by the members of each, could not fail to be promotive, in a high degree, of truth and peace.

Having thought the matter over with some care, I wrote Dr. Schaff, urging him to take into consideration the planning and editing of such a series. He replied that he had some time before planned just such a series, and gave me some of the particulars of the plan. He had felt obliged, however, to abandon the enterprise, owing to the unwillingness of such publishers as he had consulted to undertake the publication. After the organization of this Society, Dr. Schaff suggested to the writer the feasibility of getting the Society to interest itself in the enterprise. He thought that a publisher could readily be found, if the enterprise should

secure such endorsation as the Society could give. At his suggestion, I brought the matter before the Society at its last annual meeting. As you are aware, the Society requested me to prepare a report on the subject for the present meeting.

I think it was in the mind of some of the members when the appointment was made, that I should include in the present report a bibliography of denominational histories, with the twofold view of ascertaining whether there is room for such a series and what materials are available. On reflection, it did not appear to me that a bibliographical discussion would subserve any good end. It can scarcely be the conviction of any one that the *ne plus ultra* in the way of a denominational history has been reached by any denomination, and it may be taken for granted that, if the series should be undertaken, those to whom the various volumes are entrusted will know where to find their materials. I am most happy to be able to present you with an outline scheme that accords in every particular with my own views of the matter, and will carry with it far more weight than any thing that I could write. As he was returning last summer from his European trip on board the steamer *Fulda*, Dr. Schaff was prompted by his great interest in the proposed series of histories to write me a letter, from which I take the liberty of copying the following paragraphs:

"I propose to write you a few lines about the project of preparing a series of volumes on American Church History in separate denominations. You know that I contemplated such a series several years ago (before I undertook the editorial charge of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library), but failed to secure a publisher. I am very glad that you have independently taken it up again and agree to put it in shape and form for the next meeting of the American Society of Church History, which is to meet in Washington during the Christmas recess. The matter is of great importance and will give the Society useful work for years to come. Under its auspices it will be easier to secure a publisher than for an individual enterprise.

"I do not remember the details of my prospectus, which may yet be found among my papers. . . . The following are some of the essential features which I venture to suggest:

"1. The histories are to be written by representative historians of the respective denominations, who combine loyalty to their own Church with comprehensive culture and a liberal, catholic spirit.

"2. Each denomination is to be traced to its roots in Europe, and exhibited as a member of the Church universal, in its external fortunes, its doctrines, polity, worship, and practical work and mission, down to date.

"3. The sources and literature are to be carefully given, but footnotes to be avoided except references to authorities.

"4. The method and style should be scholarly, yet popular, so as to reach and interest the educated laity as well as ministers.

"5. The size of volume must be adapted to the importance of the denomination, but none should exceed, say, 500 pages octavo. Several minor denominations may be condensed into one volume.

"6. One or more editors, appointed by the American Society of Church History, to assume the responsibility of preparing a prospectus, selecting the writers, and examining their MSS."

After some remarks as to contributors to the series, Dr. Schaff makes the following further suggestions:

"It might be advisable to add a concluding volume on American Christianity *as a whole*, setting forth its relations to Europe, its distinctive features, especially the separation of Church and State, and its common institutions and operations, as the Bible Society, Tract Societies, Sunday School Union, Young Men's Christian Associations, Christian Endeavor Societies, Foreign, Domestic, and City Missions, societies for promotion of temperance, and other moral reforms.

"It is desirable to keep the number of volumes within ten. The Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians,

Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans would each require a volume. The other denominations,—as Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, Moravians, Quakers, etc., would fill the remaining two or three volumes."

In a later letter Dr. Schaff writes: "If the Society enters upon the enterprise, I will undertake to secure a publisher."

I think the scheme has been brought before the Society with sufficient clearness. It will be surprising if in its essential features it should not commend itself to all. I trust the approval of the Society will be so decided and hearty, that, after the full and frank discussion which should follow the reading of this paper, immediate action may be taken. The way is clear, all obstacles of a practical nature having been removed by Dr. Schaff's offer to secure a publisher; and there is no other similar enterprise in the field. Let us take time by the forelock and get the enterprise inaugurated. I suppose that the only support the Society would be called upon to render to the undertaking would be moral support.

I would suggest that, after the matter has been sufficiently discussed, the Society adopt the scheme and appoint a general editor. I suppose there will be no difference of opinion as to who the editor should be; the only question will be whether he whom we would unanimously appoint can see his way to undertake the direction of this great enterprise.

THE PLACE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE COLLEGE COURSE OF STUDY

THE PLACE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE COLLEGE COURSE OF STUDY.

By Rev. HENRY MITCHELL MacCRACKEN, D.D., LL.D.,
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Church history is the story of the important events in the existence of a visible, organized body of persons professing faith in Christ as the divine Saviour. Which body, some would add, possesses a direct succession from the apostles under and through a continuous episcopate, or, as others would add, under and through the Roman Pontiffs.

It is the story of how Christians have believed within themselves, which is theology, of how they have behaved before one another and the world, which is morality, how they have worshipped God, which constitutes religious rites and observances, how they have governed their brethren, which is ecclesiastical discipline, how they have multiplied their friends, which is missions, and how they have received benefit or injury as a body from the world outside, which constitutes the Church's secular relationship.

Under this definition Bible history is church history. I shall so treat it in this essay, with the understanding that when I do not explicitly name Bible church history, I mean post-biblical ecclesiastical history.

What place has church history in the college course of study? To answer this the definition of a college is needed. I therefore inquire, What is a college?

A college is a school which receives youth, who have usually by their eighteenth year passed through a high-school or academy course, and which gives them from three to four years' training in prescribed studies in each of the

three great fields of knowledge, viz.: language and literature, mathematics and natural science, philosophy and history, and which thus leads each of them up to and in some measure into some chosen special or professional field of study, (which special or professional field of study belongs to the University proper), or else gives preparation to the student for entrance upon business or non-professional life.

In considering the place of church history in the college course of study it will at once occur to each mind that the subject may be treated under two heads, viz.: 1st, What is the place now occupied by church history in our colleges? and 2d, What is the place which, in an ideal American college, ought to be occupied by this branch of study?

I have sought materials for the answer to the first question in the published catalogues of the three hundred and fifty or more colleges of the United States. A glance at the reports of these professed colleges shows that a considerable number of them lack a fairly organized college department. In order to exclude from the inquiry these merely nominal colleges, and further, in order to lessen the labor of investigation, I have confined my inquiry to those colleges in America which claim each a body of regular college students exceeding fifty in number. There are in our country fully two hundred foundations which will come under this class. Here, again, I must omit some schools which are classed by the United States Commissioner of Education as colleges, with over fifty students, but which upon a careful reading of their annual circulars I find to possess no fully organized college classes.

The colleges which will be considered in this paper may be divided according to their geographical position, into the colleges of the New England States, numbering 20; of the Middle Atlantic States, numbering 43; the South Atlantic States, 22; the South Central States, 33; the Northern Central States, 90; the Pacific States, with the Territories, 11, making a total of 218. A very slight inspection of the colleges in each of these geographical divisions shows that in any inquiry respecting the study of church history they may be divided into three well-marked classes:

1st. State colleges, supported by State funds, which, as a rule, do not teach, in any way, the subject in question.

2d. The Catholic colleges, which, as a rule, include church history in a considerable measure, in the course of study, and all after a uniform pattern; and

3d. The accepted American college, which, as a rule, is controlled by a voluntary, self-supporting corporation, either denominational, or, as in the case of many of the more important foundations, professing to be undenominational, yet Christian.

Omitting from the two hundred and eighteen colleges above mentioned those belonging to the first class, namely, State institutions, and to the second class, namely, Catholic institutions, we have about one hundred and fifty colleges remaining. We will take this last class into present consideration.

They may be divided, as to their instruction in church history, into the following classes, seven in number:

1st. Colleges which teach Bible church history, as a prescribed study.

2d. Colleges which teach Bible church history, but only as it may be included incidentally in the prescribed study of biblical literature and doctrine.

3d. Colleges which teach church history formally as a prescribed or elective study.

4th. Colleges which teach church history, but only as it may be included incidentally in the study of the Evidences of Christianity.

5th. Colleges which teach church history only as it may be included in the study of general history, or in the comparative history of religions.

6th. Colleges which teach church history only as it may be included incidentally in the teaching of church doctrine; and

7th. The colleges which do not teach the subject either directly or indirectly in any way whatever.

I have been able to give careful examination to the catalogues of a decided majority of these one hundred and fifty colleges. It will be fair to accept the data collected from

these as representative of the entire body. The catalogues examined were not gathered upon any principle of classification, but are simply those which have come by way of exchange to the Chancellor's Office of the University of the City of New York.

Taking up, then, the first-named class of colleges, in which Bible church history is a prescribed study, I find that they number one fifth of the whole, or 20 per cent. As types of these colleges, I name Muhlenberg, which gives instruction in Bible church history to freshmen and sophomores, using as a text-book Kurtz's Sacred History ; Hampden-Sidney College, which uses Smith's Old Testament History and New Testament History with the Freshman and Sophomore classes; Little Rock University, which employs Hurst's Outlines of Bible History; Wooster and Marietta, which use MacLear's Old Testament History and New Testament History. The time allotted, in the colleges mentioned, to the study of Bible church history is, as a rule, an hour weekly for two years, making perhaps seventy to eighty hours in all. But Wooster University requires two hours weekly during two thirds of the Freshman year. Wellesley College may be included in the above class, in that it requires of students, before they have finished the Sophomore year, to have taken a course of study in the Bible, also upon the History of the Jewish Church. Two hours a week are assigned to the study, Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, and the work is divided among twenty different instructors.

Passing on to the second class of colleges, which in teaching Bible literature and doctrine must necessarily touch somewhat on Bible history, we find that they number about one half of the former class, viz., 10 per cent. of the whole. Of necessity the line between these two classes of colleges, one of which announces Bible history and the other Bible literature, is quite indistinct. Still it is plain that in a majority of colleges which offer biblical instruction, special emphasis is laid upon the historical contents of the Scriptures. As representatives of this class, I name first Princeton, which requires Bible study from every student on Saturday morn-

ing at half-past eight o'clock;[1] Lafayette College requires Bible study of each of the classes for an hour every Monday morning, the Freshmen paying especial attention to the Old Testament and the Sophomores to the New Testament; Adelbert College requires of Juniors to devote thirty-three hours to Harper's Biblical Studies; Oberlin College requires the study of the Old Testament and of the New Testament from all the classes, using Harper's Bible Study on the Old Testament. One hundred and ninety hours in all of Bible instruction are given, five professors sharing in the work. The University of Cincinnati is bound by the will of its founder to observe the following provision: "The Holy Bible of the Protestant version, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, shall be used as a book of instruction in said college." The University announces that it meets this provision by offering one hour weekly in the Bible as an elective study, and crediting it to the student pursuing it as one of the studies leading to a degree.

The number of the third class, namely, colleges which offer church history as a whole, either as a prescribed study or an elective, is smaller than the second of the preceding classes, but larger than the first, comprehending about 17 or 18 per cent. of the total. Harvard offers an elective on mediæval and church history for four hours a week in all (omitted last year owing to the absence of the professor emeritus in Europe); Boston University offers to college students the church history of its theological faculty as an elective; Yale offers an elective to the Seniors of an hour a week upon the establishment of Christianity; Johns Hopkins has in the past offered an elective in church history. I do not find it in the most recently published catalogue of their college courses. The New York University prescribes two hours weekly for one term upon church history, to the Juniors or Seniors. Instruction is given by lectures, on which a quiz is offered each

[1] Recently one of the professors enlisted in this instruction remarked that the greatest obstacle to its progress was the difficulty of securing the attendance of the instructors. Possibly the hour chosen may have something to do in creating this obstacle.

week. The students are recommended, as a book for private reading, The Lives of the Church Leaders. In the lectures, one or two are given on the Jewish Church, the remainder being about equally divided among the following four divisions: 1st. The Church's spread in the countries about the Mediterranean; 2d. The Church's spread in the Northern lands, with three lectures upon Islamism; 3d. The Church's centralization; 4th. The Church's reformation.

Oberlin requires of the Seniors the study of the Mediæval Church and its institutions; Haverford offers as an elective to the Juniors and Seniors three hours weekly of church history by Prof. J. Rendall Harris; Lake Forest College requires three hours a week for one term of Juniors upon the preparation for Christianity in the Greek and Roman World, and its spread within the first century; Thiel College requires the study of Kurtz's Church History; Muhlenberg College and also Little Rock University require the study of Hurst's Outlines of Church History.

The fourth class, viz., colleges teaching church history in some slight degree in connection with instruction in the evidences of Christianity, includes fully 50 per cent. of the colleges under consideration. The proportion is substantially the same in each of the great divisions. In none of the six divisions of our country mentioned above, does the percentage of colleges teaching the evidences of Christianity fall below 40 per cent. In none does it go above 60 per cent. Readers who are familiar with the common text-books upon the evidences of Christianity will at once recall that more or less of church history is included indirectly in the instruction which they give The popular text-books are the following, named in the order of popularity, viz.: Fisher's Evidences, in about 10 per cent. of the 150 colleges; Butler's Analogy, in about 5 per cent.; Paley's Evidences in about 5 per cent.; while a smaller number study Hopkins', Peabody's, Wright's, Valentine's, McIlvain's, Gibson's, Taylor's, and Alexander's; while almost 25 per cent., or half of the colleges teaching the evidences of Christianity, either fail to name the text-book, or else give instruction

without the aid of a text-book, by lectures only. A notable fact in connection with the teaching of the evidences of Christianity, is that several State universities include it in their course of study, as for example, the Arkansas State University, and the Iowa State University. The former teaches the Seniors Alexander's and McIlvain's Evidences of Christianity, with Butler's Analogy. The latter teaches the Juniors, during the winter term, the evidences of Christianity one hour. Also the University of Mississippi gives instruction in Wright's Evidences of Christianity, and also in Bond's, the second term of the Senior year.

The fifth class of colleges touch upon church history as incidental to instruction in general history or in the comparative history of religions. From 5 to 10 per cent. of the colleges are included in this class. A popular text-book is Guizot's History of Civilization, which touches the relation of the Church to the growth of civilization. In the University of Kansas the professor of history gives particular attention to the influence of the Christian Church. Smith College reports the Freshman class as pursuing Oriental or ante-classical history. Among the works reported as read are Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, Josephus in part, Fisher's Beginnings of Christianity in part, Freeman Clarke's Religion of the Hebrews; while some of the Seniors pursued more recent church history as an elective, using Fisher's History of the Reformation, also Spaulding and D'Aubigne. Vassar College reports among the subjects pursued in history the conversion of Northern nations. In the Bureau of Education Circular on the study of history, 1887, it may be seen that in time past Michigan University and also Cornell have, in the teaching of history, touched incidentally upon the history of the Christian Church.

Under the sixth class, which touches upon church history while giving instruction in church doctrine, may be included all the Catholic colleges. These number not far from thirty, out of the two hundred colleges claiming each overy fifty college students. Their instruction is, in a large number of cases, given with the aid of Deharbe's Catechism

of the Catholic Religion, or Schouppe's Religious Instruction. The former prefaces the catechism proper with some sixty pages entitled A Short History of Religion. The compactness, vividness, and effectiveness of the history may be judged from a single page of it in description of the work of Luther, which I quote :

"Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and a professor in the University of Wittenberg, a man of an irritable and turbulent disposition, began in 1517 by exclaiming against the abuses which are said to have been practised in the publication of the Indulgences granted by Pope Leo X. to those who should contribute to the rebuilding of St. Peter's Church in Rome. But soon after he arbitrarily set himself up as a reformer of the Church, inveighed against the Ecclesiastical authorities, especially against the Pope, whose supreme power he denounced as usurpation and tyranny, and which he said he would bring to a miserable end. In pursuance of his wrong views, he rejected many articles of faith which the Church had received from Christ and his apostles. He discarded the holy sacrifice of the mass, fasting, confession, prayers for the dead, and many other pious practices; he declared good works to be useless, and taught that man is justified and saved by faith alone. Moreover, he threw open the monasteries and convents, and gave leave to the monks and nuns to marry, and he presumed to award to princes and sovereigns the right of confiscating the property of churches and convents, and of assigning it to any use they pleased. Finally he broke the vow of chastity which he had solemnly made as a monk and as a priest, and committed the double sacrilege of taking a nun for his wife. Luther boasted that he took his doctrine from the Bible only ; but being misled by the false rule of private judgment in his interpretation, he soon fell into the most palpable contradictions and errors. Thus, he asserted that 'man has no free-will, and consequently can neither keep the commandments nor avoid evil,' that sin does not condemn man, provided he firmly believe, etc. Nevertheless, he soon obtained many followers; for the thoughtless multitude were very much pleased with such easy doctrine, which allowed them to lead a dissolute life, and covetous princes found nothing more conformable to their wishes than the suppression of churches and monasteries. Besides, Luther eagerly embraced any opportunity of increasing his party, and for this purpose he permitted the Landgrave of Hesse to contract a second marriage whilst

his first wife was still living. The way of innovation and revolt being once opened by Luther, several others soon followed him, and they went even farther than he did."

It may be doubted whether among the one hundred and eighty non-Catholic colleges of America out of the two hundred and ten which I am considering, there are a score that offer the student as condensed and effective a statement respecting Luther and his work, as this which is presented to the average student of the thirty Catholic colleges.

The seventh class, which do not in any way touch Bible or church history, is composed mainly of colleges supported by the State. In five or six instances the State schools, supported by the United States grant, are practically in union with colleges of independent or denominational character, as, for example, Brown, Dartmouth, Amherst, Yale, and Cornell. It is a noteworthy fact that in the most of such cases, while the authorities of the regular college offer something of Bible study to their students, they seem to feel under obligation to eliminate from the curriculum of the students in the school of science any study that pertains in any way to the Christian Church or religion. Brown University seems to be an exception, in that it requires the study of the evidences of Christianity from Seniors, without reference to the particular course of study pursued.

For a comparison with American colleges, our best resource abroad is the German gymnasium. Plainly the trend of education in our country is more and more towards the recognition of the college as a school which will, when thoroughly administered, perform a work resembling that of the German school in languages and literature, in mathematics and natural sciences, but which will perhaps advance somewhat beyond the gymnasium or real school in its teaching of political and mental science.

Before, however, I turn to the German schools, a word may be said about the schools of Great Britain. A hint of what is performed in the way of instruction on biblical and church history may be obtained from the account of the "previous examination" required of students entering Cam-

bridge University. In this, in every case, Paley's Evidences is included, and also the New Testament Gospels. In the University of Durham, a candidate for bachelor of arts is required to pass upon Bible history, Old and New Testaments, and Paley's Evidences. The London University offers an examination to those who have already taken the degree of A.B. upon Biblical History and Christian Evidences, Paley and Butler. The Scotch University of St. Andrews emphasizes biblical and church history, more especially in connection with their new degree of L.L.A., which is given to the women who pass certain examinations. The following subjects for examination in church history are offered these women candidates: Stanley's Jewish Church, Neander, and Milman, with various authors for the later church history. Aberdeen University contains a lectureship on church history and doctrine, founded by a clergyman of Philadelphia, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, in 1793. It is a part of the service in the university chapel, and students in arts are required to attend.

In Eton College, and schools of like grade, church history in the ordinary sense is not taught formally, yet prizes are often given for the best examination on certain books of church history. Biblical history is very generally and thoroughly taught in the name of divinity, or Scripture knowledge. Two or three hours a week are given to this subject, The recitations usually come on Sunday and Monday. Old and New Testament histories are both studied, and in the higher forms they often go to the original sources, reading the Greek text of the New Testament or of the Septuagint. Generally the text-books used are the Cambridge Bible for the Use of Schools, and MacLear's text-Book on Old and New Testament History.

The examination papers used at Winchester and Eton are such as the following:

WINCHESTER COLLEGE "ELECTION," JULY, 1889, IN "DIVINITY."

(N. B.—In assigning marks to this paper, consideration will be paid to the ages of the candidates.)

I. What events are connected with the following places: Achor, Ramoth Gilead, Mount Carmel, Lystra, Patmos?

II. What do you know of Mordecai, Zimri, Jethro, Eutychus, Demetrius, Nathaniel?

III. Give in your own words the circumstances attending the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch.

IV. What mention have we of the Samaritans in the Gospel narrative? Say any thing you know about Samaria.

V. Explain with reference to the context:

1. He shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall be set up the gate of it.

2. They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought.

3. Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sick?

4. And great fear came upon all the church, and upon as many as heard these things.

5. Thy servant went no whither.

6. Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister and mother.

THE ETON COLLEGE "TRIALS," MARCH, 1887, IN "DIVINITY," ARE AS FOLLOWS:

PART I.

1. Translate Acts ix. to end of xii. (Here Greek is given.)

2. Explain the following, stating in what context they occur: (Here follow six Greek phrases from the New Testament.) Illustrate from Old Testament.

3. What is said in these chapters, and what do you know of Ananias, Barnabas, Agabus, Joppa, Lydda, Cæsarea?

4. What account is given here of St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem? What account does he give himself of it in the Epistles?

PART II.

Samuel ii. and 1 Kings, i.–ix.

1. Who were (1) Zeruiah, (2) the sons of Zeruiah, (3) Ishbosheth (explain the name), (4) Uzzah, (5) Araunah, (6) Jedediah, (7) Nahash, (8) Ahijah, (9) Rezon?

2. How did David behave to the Moabites, Uriah, Ziba, Barzillai?

3. State how Absalom was recalled, and how he won the hearts of the people.

4. How are the following places mentioned in these chapters, and where are they?—Mahanaim, Sheba, Ezion-Geber, Jabesh-Gilead, Rabbah.

5. Explain the following, and state the context:

I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.

He bade them teach the children of Israel the use of the bow.

Let him curse, for the Lord hath bidden him.

I will not offer to the Lord my God of that which cost me nothing.

Arise! O Lord God into thy resting-place.

Matthew Arnold's father, Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, won much of his fame as an instructor by his work along moral and religious lines. In the sixth form, beside the lectures on Sunday, he introduced two lectures on the Old or the New Testament in the course of the week, so that a boy who remained there three years would often have read through a great part of the New Testament, much of the Old Testament, and especially of the Psalms in the Septuagint version, and also have committed much of them to memory. Arnold's rich mind filled up the naked outlines of the Gospel history. Also at times he would deliver lectures on the history of the early Church or the English Reformation. Of his ordinary lessons the most attractive were those on modern civilization, which he made largely lectures on God in History.

The Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board give certificates which exempt from the matriculation examinations of most of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The following are the official requirements for the examination in Scripture knowledge:

a. The four Gospels, together with the outlines of history contained in the Old Testament.

b. A book or portion of the Old or New Testament to be

selected for special study. For July, 1890, these were the appointed portions: (1) Isaiah, xl.–lxvi., (2) St. Luke, (3) Romans, (4) Acts of the Apostles. Candidates for distinction, if choosing the New Testament, must show a knowledge of the Greek text, or in the case of the Old a knowledge of the Hebrew, or of the Greek text of the Septuagint.

These examinations are the ones adopted by many of the so-called public schools of England.

In turning to the German gymnasium, it may give a clearer notion of the age and advancement of students as they take up the subjects of church history to give a statement of their position in the classes in Latin.

In the Nikolai gymnasium of Leipsic, before the student has completed Cæsar and the Anabasis he is required to finish the Old Testament history and the New Testament history, with introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament. While he is reading Cicero and the Odyssey, he is required to complete the history of the Christian Church to Charles the Great, also the Epistles of Paul. While he is reading Sallust and Herodotus, he is required to pursue the history of the Church through the middle ages and down to modern times. While reading Horace and Plato, he reviews the New Testament. While reading Suetonius and Demosthenes, he studies the Augsburg Confession of Faith.

At the Aachen gymnasium, he has completed the Bible history by the time he reaches Cicero and the Qdyssey. In the next two years he pursues the study of ancient Christianity; in his last year he pursues the history of modern Christianity. The students in this year are divided into Catholic and Protestant sections, pursuing different histories under their denominational instructors. Up to this last year the church history has been pursued by Catholics and Protestants together, albeit in the study of church doctrines they have been in separate sections.

In the Friedrich Wilhelms gymnasium at Cottbus, 43m. s.s.w. of Frankfort, the students by the time they have completed Cæsar have completed also the history of the Old and the New Testament. While reading Ovid they complete

the chief events of the Reformation. In their last year they pursue church history down to the Reformation, studying also the Augsburg Confession of Faith.

Such is the uniformity of programme among the gymnasia and real schools of Germany that the foregoing may be accepted as substantially a statement of the average course in these German colleges. Not less than two hours a week is given to the study named. It is quite apart from the study of general history, to which, at the same time, is given, in each of the last four years from two to three hours every week. It should be mentioned that the German gymnasium expects not less than five hours daily of recitations, where the American college rarely gives beyond four.

Matthew Arnold, writing concerning German education, says:

"In Germany, religion stands as one of the foremost subjects of instruction. It is laid out with the greatest care. I told Prof. Mommsen, the celebrated historian, how surprised I had been to find, after all I had heard of the decay of religion in Protestant Germany, how important a place it still held in the programme of the schools. He agreed that it did so, and he thought it was a good thing. I believe that the alienation of the working classes of Germany from the Christian religion is exaggerated. I feel sure that in the religious German nature, sentiment and impulses raised by the religious instruction of the school continue to work."

A recent writer, speaking from personal inspection of the schools of Germany, particularly of Prussia, says:

"In the secondary and collegiate courses—the gymnasium—the religious study comprehends, from the ninth to the twelfth year, biblical history; from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, systematic introduction into the Christian doctrines; in the higher courses (corresponding to the undergraduate courses of the schools of art), detailed reading of the Bible in connection with the study of the doctrines, and the history of the Christian churches. When I went through these studies, church history was by far the most

popular of them all; it interested even those that were indifferent about the dogmatic part. It seems that the general interest which is felt in Germany for religious subjects is especially called forth by questions of historical character. This agrees with the predominant tendency among the German educated classes to attain to the full understanding of a subject by studying its development. It is therefore to be expected that in the higher courses the historical study of religion will be developed still further."

We come, then, to the question, "What place should church history occupy in the ideal American college?" I answer: "Such a place as would make it difficult for any college graduate to go forth without as fair a knowledge of the outlines of church history as he possesses of the outlines of the history of England or of his own country. Experience seems to establish one hour a week throughout a course of three or four years as the minimum time for acquiring as much as has been named. This would make from thirty to forty hours each year, or from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and sixty hours of class work throughout the entire college course. This is given as the minimum, since it falls considerably below the measure of time given in the gymnasia of Germany, which, after all, are our best models.

As an induction from all that has been presented on the teaching of Bible and church history in American colleges, in the colleges of Great Britain and of Germany, I offer the following as a programme of study both practicable and desirable for each and every one of the better colleges of America: Freshman Year—an hour weekly, or two hours for half the year, or three hours for one third of the year, upon the Old Testament history and literature. Sophomore Year—the same time as above, on the New Testament history and literature. Junior Year—the same time as above, upon church history to the Reformation. Senior Year—the same time as above, upon church history, from the Reformation, including a discussion of contemporary Christianity, and of the evidences of Christianity.

In support of the programme proposed for the ideal American college, I offer the following considerations:

1st. College students, as a rule, are ignorant of Bible history. A recent writer in the *Century* magazine, who lives not a thousand miles from Yale College, says: "It is a simple fact that no small number of men graduate yearly from our colleges who have less knowledge of the Bible than have the children of a mission Sunday-school."

The same writer tells of a Harvard student who called upon the Harvard librarian for a volume of history entitled "The Acts," whose ignorance, he adds, was matched by a Senior at Yale, who had no knowledge of the historical person known as Pontius Pilate.

I may be permitted to illustrate the average attainment of the American college student in the history of the Church by examples which I have found in the course of my experience as the head of colleges in two States and cities. I will confine my illustrations to the Bible history, with the explanation that I have found more frequent ignorance in the history of the post-biblical times than in the questions pertaining exclusively to the Bible. I will give the answers which have been made to some of the most elementary questions which I have asked in reference to Bible literature. I take these from notes made at the time; the answers were given by college students not in any way below the average in their acquaintance with the great fields of language and literature, of mathematics and science, of philosophy and general history. I asked the question: "Who were the writers of the books of the New Testament?" and received answers which enumerated among these writers, in one case, Timothy; in another case, Job. To the question: "Where is the Sermon on the Mount recorded?" I received, in one case, the answer Mark, and in another, John. To the question: "Repeat a sentence from the Sermon on the Mount?" I received as an answer, in one case, "Lovest thou me," and in another case, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." To the question: "What were the principal sects

of Jews in the time of Jesus?" I have had along with correct answers the following, which were somewhat defective: (1) "Pharisees, Publicans, Gentiles"; (2) "Gentiles, Pharisees, Samaritans"; (3) "Jews and Gentiles"; (4) "Scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees"; (5) "Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Jews." To the question; "Where was Paul born?" I have had as an answer: "Rome," "Ephesus." To the question: "Where was Christ born?" I have received, in one case, the answer, "Nazareth." To the question where he spent the greater part of his life, I have had in more than one third of the instances the answer, "Jerusalem." For the name of the Emperor of Rome at the time of the birth of Christ, I have had the answers, "Nero," "Cæsar"; and as to who was the emperor at his death, I have had as answers, "Augustus," "Agrippa." For an estimate of the length and breadth of Palestine in the time of Christ, I have had the length vary from fifty miles long to eight hundred miles long; from twenty miles wide to two hundred and fifty miles wide: thus making the area vary from one thousand to two hundred thousand square miles. To the question: "Who was the chief companion of Paul in his missionary journey?" I have received the answer, "Barabbas." Some years since, I was sitting in a Young Men's Christian Association meeting near the leader, who was a college student, and, as I was informed, about entering the theological seminary. He announced as his subject: "Building up the walls of Zion," and began by saying "When Joshua and Caleb were going up to build the walls of Jerusalem." Sitting behind him, I whispered: "You are mistaken; it was Nehemiah." He resumed by saying: "I remarked when Joshua and Caleb went up to build the walls of Jerusalem, but I am corrected by my friend, and find that it was Joshua and Nehemiah." These which I have given are indicia collected by me in contact with various colleges through many years. With a liberal estimate for the accurate information which many students possess upon Bible and church subjects, I am thoroughly grounded in the conviction that not half of the candidates for Freshmen standing in the one

hundred and fifty American colleges which I have enumerated, would be able, if such questions as I have named above were included in their entrance examinations, to obtain an average for their answers of over fifty per cent.

2d. Because all the history and philosophy gained by college students is left fragmentary unless joined with full information upon Bible and church history. No man can be said to be trained in history and philosophy who has no thorough knowledge of the organization which grew up in the Hebrew nation and became the power which took possession of the Roman Empire and of the Roman world. If that school only is a college which enforces the study to a considerable breadth of each of the three great fields of knowledge, and if there can be no broad study of history and philosophy without study of the Bible and church history, then it follows that the school which neglects these is not a college. It may possibly fill the office of a university, telling all that is to be told upon some special subject, but it is not a college, telling the most important things that need to be told in all the fields of learning.

3d. Because the student's knowledge of his own countrymen will be sadly defective without a thorough knowledge of the religion of his countrymen and the historical explanation of the diversities of those religions. Some one has remarked that no great American statesman can be named who did not possess a thorough knowledge of the Bible. It could be added that no eminent American statesman has lacked a fair knowledge of church history; at least of the history of American denominations. No man can understand the American people unless he understand why there are in this country Reformed and Catholic, Episcopalian and Lutheran, Presbyterian and Quaker, Congregationalist and Unitarian, Jesuit and Benedictine.

4th. For the advanced student of history, pursuing the collection of original material according to the latest university method, there is admirable opportunity for practice in the two hundred years of American religious development. We have not had many wars, but we have had a phenomenal

exhibition of human energy directed to the founding and carrying forward of church movements. I would suggest as far more important and imperative than the local history of some county or city, the history of any one of a score of vast religious movements which have gone forward on our continent—many of which, if you were to name them even to the university student of history, would be wholly unrecognized and unfamiliar.

5th. Because a college graduate's knowledge in general literature, in case he has little or no knowledge of the history of religion, leaves him a one-sided, disproportioned mind. I speak of him purely from my standpoint as an educator, desiring symmetry in the training and forming of the mind of every educated man.

6th. Because, and this reason I trust will have special weight with those who hear me to-day, unless we thus introduce our youth early to the study of church history, we shall never raise up among American students a master in this field of knowledge. Our acknowledged American leader in this field, the honored President of this Society, grew up under the discipline which I have held up as a model. Such importations as that of Dr. Philip Schaff are just now discouraged by law. The United States imposes a tax of $1,000 upon any college importing a professor by contract. The American people should see to it, then, that they make professors of church history out of their own raw material.

7th. The omission of the study of the Bible and of the Church in the course of education is well fitted to produce an unfortunate effect upon the religious growth of the student. He has been urged to give his utmost mental strength to many histories and many sciences. He has never been asked to apply it to the scientific study of the Bible or of Christianity. Is it strange if he makes this argument, then, within his own mind: "These are subjects upon which the beliefs or opinions of my teachers will not bear examination"? No man is in reality prepared for an intelligent study of the arguments for and against Christian belief unless he has thoroughly acquainted himself, first, with the

Bible and with Christian history. No man is competent to speak as an educated man on the religious questions of the day, either as an advocate or as an opponent of any proposition, until he has had the grounding which I propose to give the college student.

8th. Because very much is gained for moral culture as well as intellectual culture when the student has included among his intimate studies, and, I may say, among his intimate friends, the men of church history, Justin and Origen, Athanasius and Gregory, Irenæus and Augustin, Jerome and Ambrose, and all the rest. In my own teaching of church history, I have ever made biography prominent. I have received more expressions of obligation for what I have done in impressing the history and the men of Christianity upon my students, than for all my labor, ten times as severe, in teaching them psychology, ethics, and history of philosophy.

One of the objections that may be raised is that the teacher may possibly be found to oppose, in his views respecting the Bible or the Church, the beliefs of the Christian home. I would answer, nevertheless, let the instruction be given. If at all fit to hold the place of a teacher he will, in presenting his views, do so in such a way as to start full inquiry into opposing views. A teacher, it is possible, cannot bring himself to accept the occurrence of miracles; but if he be a true teacher, he will not boast himself of this limitation of his believing ability. He will do justice to great minds who have known no such limitation. It is a childish mind which speaks of the accepted or time-honored view in terms of pity. I used to visit two asylums, one for the blind, the other for the deaf and dumb, in one of our State capitals. At a public exercise in the former, a child in a recitation exalted the happiness of the blind above that of the deaf and dumb, expressing for the latter her hearty pity. At the latter asylum on the same day, a child exalted the fortune of the deaf and dumb over the unfortunate blind. Had either child been older and more intelligent, it would have said: "My neighbor has a power and an experience which I lack. He, perhaps is far better off

than I. I must be content as I am, but I cannot but wish that his power were also mine." So, the teacher who finds he cannot accept the miracle, if he be a wise and modest teacher, will say to his pupil: "Better and greater men than I have believed with all their heart in the miracles in history; I have not their power; perhaps they have done far better than myself."

A second objection will be that among our college professors men cannot be found to teach Bible or church history to advantage. I answer then, let the raising of a demand by college boards obtain a supply. If every gymnasium in Germany, a country which Americans often pity for its inferiority in Christian attainment, can find instructors, American colleges can do so also. But I have shown that already one half the ordinary American colleges teach the evidences of Christianity, that 30 per cent. teach the Bible. In the men who teach these, we have the nucleus of a body of instructors in Bible and church history. American colleges, it must be granted, have been weaker in teaching history than in teaching many another branch. Introduce Bible and church history as a required branch, and it will help, if rightly directed, the teaching of history in general—ancient, mediæval, modern, English, and open all of American history.

A third objection will be urged, especially on the part of colleges which are supported in any measure by funds from the State. The objectors urge that Church and State are separated in America. This all will admit. When, however, they add that the State and Christianity are utterly divorced by American law, we deny this utterly. The best statement as to the true relation of State and Christianity which has been recently made, is that of William Allen Butler, LL. D., before a conference held November last in the city of New York. I quote from it a few sentences; I may add that the platform then adopted was entirely in agreement with Dr. Butler's position:

"This recognition of the Christian religion as a part of the law is a wholly different thing from setting up or inculcating opinions, creeds, or doctrines based on human interpretation

of the Scriptures, or on any human authority. There is certainly nothing in the Constitution or laws of this State which prevents such a recognition, or which debars the Department of Public Instruction from giving it practical effect in the daily exercise of the schools so far as to sanction the reading of the Scriptures without note or comment, the use of the Lord's Prayer, and, under proper safeguards, the inculcation, without admixture of human doctrine, of Christian morals, *i. e.*, the precepts of the Decalogue as perpetuated by Christianity.

"If, as the courts have held, the Christian religion is in fact a part of the law under which we live, then, although we have no established Church, we have an established religion based on a divine revelation. . . . On the plainest principles of public policy in a State thus maintaining and enforcing the Christian religion as a part of its customary and declared legal organization, public instruction ought to be Christian, and the Christian religion should be recognized and made manifest not by way of doctrine deduced from its Scriptures or interpretation of their meaning, but in attestation of the fact of its supremacy as a constituent part of the law of the land.

. . . . . .

"The legal status of the public schools in this State, therefore, includes the existing and controlling power of the Christian religion, not as a doctrine, but as a fact."

What is true of the State of New York may not be true of Wisconsin or some other State, because of some article of their constitution, inserted in obedience to the secularizing craze, which within this century has passed over our State governments and our State schools; which craze, I am happy to believe, has wellnigh spent its force and is now rapidly giving way to the time-honored American doctrine, which is that taught by Dr. Wm. Allen Butler.

A fourth objection is that for colleges to teach Bible history and church history is a work of supererogation. The Sunday-school and the Bible class do the work, at least so far as concerns the Bible history.

I value the Sunday-school at its full worth, but it is less a place of instruction than of edification. It does not and cannot exact study from its pupils. It is a place of religious and moral quickening rather than of scholastic attainments. I would not have it leave its present office, which is a reduplication of the office of the pulpit, to assume the office of the schoolmaster. It were the olive tree leaving its fatness. The Sunday-school does not and can not give a scholarly knowledge of even the English Bible. It utterly omits, so far as I know, the teaching of church history. The pulpit here and there undertakes somewhat of the latter. But there is the same objection to the pulpit as to the Sunday-school leaving its office of moral and spiritual quickening, to do pedagogic work. At any rate it can not do the work for the college student.

To conclude this argument in a single sentence, we must have church history in the college, or our college graduates will be ignorant of church history, and will not be liberally educated men.

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Brieger, Theodor, D.D., Professor of Church History, Leipzig, Germany.

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Comba, Emilio, D.D., Professor of Historical Theology in the Waldensian College, Florence, Italy.

Creighton, Rev. Mandell, LL.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge, England.

Harnack, Adolph, D.D., Professor of Church History, Berlin, Germany.

† Hase, Karl, D.D., Professor of Church History, Jena, Germany.

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